Recollections
of
Times and Things
# of my
Early Life: with a Sketch of Recent Improvements, and Remarks upon the principles of our Government, on our Parties & our present Political Condition.

(Delivered in 4 Lectures to
assemblies of people in our
~~School~~ House the winter
of 1839 (Feby & March)

Introduction.

To those acquainted with the progress of society in this Country, since its first settlement by Europeans, as given by Historians, nothing further may be deemed necessary or useful. Still many particulars of minor events and details of manners and customs of limited sections of Country, may not be without interest to those who have perused general History; and to such as have not, they ~~I doubt not~~, will be gratifying.

My design (in what ~~here~~ follows) is to give an unvarnished account of such things as fell under my own observation; and if I shall sometimes appear trifling, I hope to be pardoned for what may be noted of a different character.

The descriptions I shall give will necessarily require

require the use of terms that may have become obsolete if not uncouth to the fastidious taste of our times; But if any one however found whose delica~~cy~~-cacy shall be shocked at the sound of shirts, trousers, and breeches, instead of small clothes and inexpressibles, I need only say, they should embrace in their pocket apparatus, ~~smelling~~ cordial bottles as antidotes against fainting fits and nervous affections.

Recollections

According to our town Registry I was born in Deerfield on the 31st of December 1765, as I am informed, in the old House now so often visited by travellers to examine the marks of the Indian hatchets in the front door, made when the town was sacked and destroyed in 1704.

At the time of my birth it appears from history, that the disputes between the American colonies and Great Britain, had commenced. But my recollections are not clear as to any political events that occurred much before 1770. The massacre, as it was called, in King street (now State Street) ~~in~~ Boston on the 5th of March of that year, is another my recollection, and probably rendered more distinct from a hand bill containing an account of the affair, posted up in the bar room of my Father's house then kept as a tavern. Part of the description was in Poetry & well calculated to rouse the spirits of the people —

mong the inhabitants of this town within my early
ecollection, were a number of military officers and
oldiers who served several campaigns in the Provincial troops in the war
1755, and ~~several~~ some down to the conquest of Canada
n 1760. From these men I often heard details of
heir campaigns, battles and adventurous exploits, which
ould not fail of making deep impressions upon a
young mind; and if I thus imbibed a sort of mil-
tary bias, felt in later life, it will not be deemed
xtraordinary.

At ~~this time~~ my first recollection my Grandfather, Jonathan Hoyt, was
living. When the town was destroyed by the French and
Indians (~~in 1704~~) he was taken prisoner ~~and~~ carried to Canada, and
esided several years with the latter, in the vicinity of
Quebec. From him much information was obtained
respecting the manners and customs of the Indians &
the state of the Country at that time. My recollections of
him are distinct, though he had retired from
active life and was confined to his house by infirmity ~~old age~~
He died at the advanced age of 92 years. At the time
of his capture he was 16 years old ~~of age~~, therefore born in
1688. My Great Grandfather, Deacon David Hoyt

The total number 25. My Grandfather's house which stood a small distance south of Henry Stebbins & the John Sexton house, in the middle lane, where Ephraim Williams barn now stands, have been demolished; the old house of Col. Wm Stebbins were burnt, and two others worn off by the river in the southwest ~~lane~~ lane

The present number of dwelling houses is 62

Therefore built since my recollection, 37

The Academy, meeting houses, school house & shops are recent buildings.

Since my recollection the street has been much leveled. Between Mrs H. Williams and Thomas Williams houses, i was a considerable descent northward and the hill at the opening of the academy lane was somewhat abrupt, as was also ~~that~~ south of the present Brick meeting house. The ground north & adjacent to this building was much lower than at this time, and once had a causeway, and Col. Col. Stebbins lot opposite, was ~~sometimes~~ generally covered with water excepting in ~~very~~ dry seasons. A little north of ~~Mr~~ my predecessor Barnard's house was a southerly descent and the hill at Major Stebbins was steeper than at present. Between Major Stebbins and the late E H Williams houses the that was so low that the water of high freshets, some times ~~[illegible]~~ crossed it to the east.

The main road to Greenfield ~~led~~ passed through the north meadow, and a ferry was kept for passing Deerfield river: ~~and~~ the ferry house stood at the N E point of Pine hill.

The old buildings were constructed of wood in a plain style; but the walls were sometimes filled with brick between the timbers, probably as a sort of defence against musketry; and generally two stories high. All the buildings at Cheapside are of recent date. My Great Grandfather, I am informed, had a small house in the side hill, north of the house lately C. Wells ~~[illegible]~~'s, and here my Grandfather is said to have been born; part of the meadow in front I suppose he owned. According to my first recollections, there were six dwelling houses at Wapping, two or three at the Bars; five at Bloody Brook; four at Mill River and one ~~at~~ in Wisdom. On Connecticut River ~~within the town~~ were four houses and some at Pine Nook, ~~and~~ three or four in the S E quarter of the township and two or three at what is now called the turnip yard. ~~The~~ Dickinson's old Grist mill stood on a branch of Deerfield river sixty or seventy rods above the present mills of the Stebbins, and all the buildings adjacent to the last mills, are recent.

Some of the meadow ponds have been deepened ~~by~~ or or drained, and a few swamps converted to dry lands by the same means. Changes in the channel of the River, in various places, have been great, especially opposite to the middle lane, the south end of the street, and north of Pine hill, by abrasions of the banks; and a complete dereliction of the bed, around burrow meadow point, took place, I believe, in the early part of the revolutionary war, leaving a considerable surface, most of which has become ~~is now~~ good grass land now called the old river.

From a survey of the River from Hatfield to the north end of Deerfield Street, about the year 1759, I find the river at the S.W. point of the street, has encroached about 22 rods. Should it continue ~~as it has done it~~ will it will not require a long time to reach the main street.

Our River formerly afforded an abundance of fish: Besides shad and salmon in the spring season, we had the striped bass, some of a large size, suckers, chub of various kinds, perch, pickerel, hog-back, pout, and various sorts of eels. Many of the hook fish were found in our ponds as well as tortoises of various sizes.

Aquatic fowl were abundant. In the spring when the lowest part of the meadows was covered by the freshets, acres of black ducks were seen and now and then flocks of wild geese; ~~Of~~ other & birds pigeons, some occasionally, innumerable; and the woods abounded in various sorts of game. Nor was it uncommon to find the furious rattle snake, particularly in our eastern woods, as well as many others kinds of snake in all parts of the town

Among the diseases, autumnal fevers were common & somewhat fatal; but the fever and ague has not prevailed since my recollection, though I am informed it was frequent in earlier times. Consumptions, Iliac, were more frequent than at this day, and dysentries were not uncommon.

From the time of my first recollections to the commencement of our revolution, the Country was in a perturbed state, and preparations were making to resist our mother Country; but ~~them~~ the cause ~~[illegible]~~

~~depending~~ resting on abstract reasoning about rights and liberty were not calculated to make deep impressions on a young mind; something tangible, or perceptable to the eye, was necessary to produce this effect.

~~Something of~~ The gloom which then hung over ~~sometime~~ the minds of our elderly people, is within my recollection, supposed The reflecting part saw danger & ruin approaching; they could ~~see~~ perceive no probability of success in an avowed opposition to the mother Country, whose powerful army and navy might crush us at a ~~stroke~~ blow. If they were sensible of undue encroachments on our rights and privileges, they thought the only remedy was to be sought in remonstrance and ~~pe~~ petitions, and if these failed we must submit. To plunge into a war with a powerful military nation, while ~~we~~ we were, without a government, without an army, ~~or~~ or munitions of war and without a revenue, was thought by ~~them~~ little short of insanity. And without aid from France, the history of the struggle pretty clearly proves, we

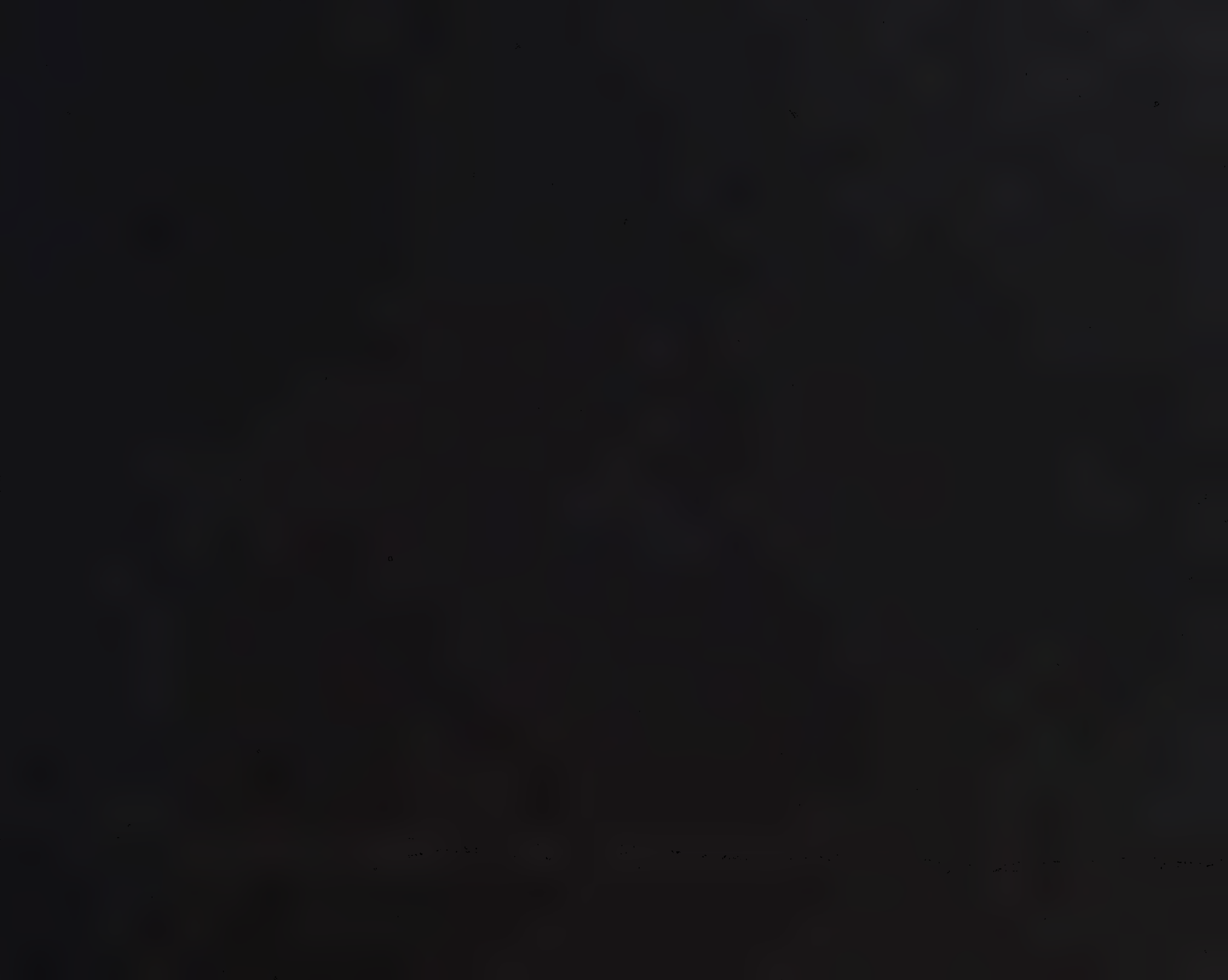
should have failed of establishing our Independence.
~~probably~~ ~~another~~ ~~a sort of military~~ ~~insurrection~~

Sometime previous to the affair at Lexington & Concord Volunteer companies, called minute men, were raised in the towns, in various parts of the Province. The company in this town was commanded by Capt James Locke, and I well remember seeing them on ~~one~~ parade at their exercise and manoeuvres, in which a British non commiss'd officer (by the name of ~~Young~~ Hyde) was sometimes employed to instruct ~~the~~ men. His trim military actively attitude ~~made~~ made an impression on my mind, that he was an elegant gentleman, who knew every thing. Probably he was a deserter from the British troops. [illegible]

Part of the officers who had served in the former war, were opposed to revolutionary principles, and these with our Clergyman (Rev. Jonathan Ashley) ~~[illegible]~~ a warm advocate for royalty, ~~they~~ had much influence with the people and infused something of the same spirit ~~among them~~; and at times the votes of this town were nearly balanced. Two of our townsmen joined the British army and received commissions. —

At what ~~age~~ time I commenced field labor under my father I cannot precisely state, but probably at an early age; for he was an industrious laborer himself and thought that the field

was an important school for young lads.
When hostilities commenced at Lexington and Concord
I was between 9 and ten years of age and I distinctly
remember the march of the minute company from
this town immediately after the intelligence of the
affair ~~reached us~~. The account of the bloody combat at Bunker Hill
on the 17th of June 1775 reached us within a few days
and created much anxiety in those who had con
nexions at Cambridge: One man from this town by the name of
McCauley was killed and several others were in the action
The story was rather gloomy to young lads, and I
recollect we felt no disposition to shorten the
distance of 100 miles to Boston.



~~an important school~~ ~~In the winter season~~
~~children were sent to the town school, where they w~~
~~ght reading writing and arithmetic. The spelling~~
~~t in use was Dilworth's, and afterwards W~~
~~lish grammar was little attended to, and indee~~
~~masters, even those who had been educated~~
~~colleges, appeared very little acquainted with English~~
~~grammar, though they knew something of the Latin~~

Modes of farming. According to my earliest recollection
e as follows. In the meadows we ~~raised~~ cultivated Indian Co
s, peas and oats mixed, barley, flax potatoes, turn
d sometimes tobacco. Almost every farmer rai
ly sufficient for his small beer, the principal drin
labourers in the fields; and ardent spirits were
ed except at tavern parties, at which flip
principal beverage, and some of our taverns were
ted for their skill in preparing it; those which
best malt beer, made the best flip.

in Rye crops were raised on fields distant fro
meadows and on grounds that were not plowe
y Father owned about 15 acres of which were c
e land on the Connecticut near the mouth of Deer

ness, and on this he raised his rye. This tract was di-
vided into two fields, one of which was put into crop
~~every~~ once in two years, lying fallow the other. One generally
plowed the ground twice in the summer and seeded it
in August or September. The Rye was of an excellent
quality

Wheat was seldom sowed on our meadow lands,
as it was very subject to blight. Most of it was raised
on new grounds, and for this purpose three or four
acres were cut over early in the summer, cleared of the
brush and logs, by burning; ~~and~~ twice plowed, and drag-
ged at the time of sowing. The crop was generally
excellent both in quantity & quality.

~~The~~ Grass lands were mowed twice in the season,
excepting ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ dry ~~lands~~ tracts where ~~it~~ the crop was left for
what was called old grass and cut but once.

Our farm vehicles and implements, were few and
simple. The two wheeled cart was in general use, and
often the wheels were without tires, called slug wheels.
The body was framed & small, and for carting hay,
furnished with a fore & hind ladder, and a sort of
wing ladders at the sides, reaching beyond the wheels

and supported by standards resting on the extrem
of the axletrees. The loading of hay & sheaves of gra
on these carts required considerable skill and practi
and he who could pack a handsome and well bal
anced load; was considered as ingenious.

The team for these carts, ~~was~~ a yoke of cattle and tw
one trained horses, the latter harnessed with ~~a~~
breast collar and chains with whippletrees: and
this team was considered the best for plowing lan
free from stumps and roots. For breaking up ne
land several yoke of cattle were preferred.

The plows generally used were adapted to ~~th~~ meadow
land, only the beam long, with a colter and share, and th
worked well in clean ground, but were wholly unfi
for stoney & rooty soils. For new land we had a brea
up plows of a strong construction the beam curving
towards the ground.

The harrows were ~~the~~ heavy triangular ~~drag~~ drag for new gro
the narrow triangular corn harrow, and the square harrow
for covering all sowed ~~by~~ broad cast. Sometimes a
small horse plow was used as a substitute for the
corn harrow, but the latter was deemed the best.

(A)

According to my recollection we had only but a few of which may be called pleasure Carriages. A plain one horse chair without a cover was used by some people and the two horse family sleigh was common with the independent farmer. For milling a rude sort of tug or pung was sometimes used; this was drawn by one horse with thills_ a miserable winter sliding vehicle. Travelling was either on foot or on horseback; and hence some pains were taken to procure a handsome saddle, bridle and travelling leather bags, a pillion was provided for the female to ride double. Our roads through the Country were generally circuitous and rough, and often made lower than the adjacent ground; the excellent plan of raising them by filling in stone and earth, was not adopted until the construction of turnpike roads brought the practice into vogue. Our great travelled road to Boston lay through Sunderland Amherst Belchertown, and over Coys hill to Brookfield; thence through Worcester, and ~~then~~ then the present Northampton route to the City; and we had no bridges across the Connecticut. Now and then a small fallboat was seen on that river, transporting heavy articles to and from Hartford. The voyage was considered tedious took up ~~some time~~ many days.

hoes were light and thin and much like those used at this time, nor were the scythes essentially different from our present ones.

Shovels were generally constructed of wood & shod with iron, the spade of the latter. The ax and most other implements were similar to those now used; but the former was not ground to an edge by the blacksmith, and it was no small task to prepare it for ~~cutting~~ use on the common Grindstone.

The farm wheeled wagon was seldom used, except for transporting loads to and from distant markets.

For inclosing our common field (or meadow) each proprietor had his proportion of fence marked off by stones or stakes and he was bound to keep his fence in good repair.

As our River was often high in the spring season, flowing the low grounds, and therefore difficult to pass, ~~the~~ town kept a large flat boat, called a scow, which was stationed at Cheapside ferry, in the north meadow, and allowed to be used by those who had land on the west side of the River;

The mode of manuring the land was by carting on the dung from the barn yards in the fall or spring. and spreading it over the surface. Manuring corn in the hill is a later practice, in my time I think I may truly remark, that our meadow lands are not, at this time kept in so good tilth as formerly, the quantity of manure ~~is~~ being too small & the supply by purchase too limited.

Stocks of Cattle. Our farmers raised a considerable number, and as the western woods were but sparsely settled, they turned them out to range these woods at large, now and then visiting them to find their most frequent haunts, and to salt them. One or more of the flock were furnished with light bells strapped to the neck. In this manner the animals found plenty of nourishing vegetables & thrived. Flocks of sheep were suffered to range in our eastern woods, and most of our farmers kept a number sufficient to furnish wool for domestic manufacture

Stall feeding of cattle, then as now, was the principal resource of our farmers. In the spring season they were driven to Boston market, generally by the farmers themselves, some one taking with him the cattle of his neighbours. During the war of the revolution many were sold to purchasers for the army; (~~and I recollect seeing large sheets of currency Bills in the hands of the [illegible]~~

~~but not lessen the smoke to a negative value, and mind those who kept them busy on this business.~~

~~Modes~~ Diet of living. These were farmers needed. Most of them put down good supplies of beef and pork, and it was considered disreputable to be without a ~~full~~ ~~good~~, ~~or barrel~~ in the spring stone pot in the cellar. ~~Diet~~ The food was simple but ~~rich~~ ~~bountiful~~ abundant plenty. At breakfast the common bohea tea was found on the family table, this being the only kind generally used, or known. The viands were meat, fresh or salt, pies, cakes, cheese and butter. Sometimes chocolate was substituted for tea. Coffee was not known. For children, milk porridge, or ~~thickened milk~~ bread and milk, and hasty pudding were furnished, but the latter was more common for their supper.

But the dinner was the farmer's feast. In the morning the large family pot was hung over the fire, and the grand globular Indian pudding tied in linen cloth, immersed. It was an important point in cooking this article, that it should be early in the pot. Some time after the pudding was putting ~~in the pot~~, the bulky piece of salt beef and pork, perhaps a fowl, were added; and in due time the sauce, consisting of potatoes, turnips, beets

[illegible]

and green corn found their places in the mess.
Thus when served upon the spacious family table, with the usual condiments, presented an inviting ~~view~~ repast to the sharp appetite of the hardy labor-er and he almost forgot his toils. A draught of ~~the~~ sparkling cider from the well replenished cellar, completed ~~the~~ repast and soon the labor of the field was ~~continued~~ resumed. When the work was distant, dinner was carried into the field by the laborers, consisting of the boiled dish of the preceding day, or newly cooked, and sent to them ~~[illegible]~~ by the ~~faithful~~ [illegible] housewife.

When the farmer butchered his hogs or his beef, the table was furnished with luscious pieces roasted or baked.

Sometimes, ~~occasionally~~ frequently on Saturday, Salt-Shad, or cod fish ~~a good store~~ a good stock of the former of which was kept in the cellar, made up ~~the~~ the dinner with the usual sauces, & butter and cheese.

Supper was generally more simple, often consisting of the pot luck of the preceding noon.

I have mentioned Shad as a part of the farmer's store: these fish were taken in abundance in our river as well as the Connecticut, and were purcha at, from three to four coppers each; and it often happened that Salmon the most luscious of all food, could be obtained at about the same price per pound. What luscious fare! If ~~they~~ the farmers labored hard they were in no want of wholesome stimulants and no people on earth were ever better fed.

I might have noticed the deer, turkey partridge, squirrel and other game of the woods, which were plenty, in my early days, and afforded food for the hunter who preferred that employment to husbandry; but if his life was more varied and less drudging, it was less happy than that of the provident farmer

House-hold furniture. If in certain families indulgences in superfluities were found, they were rare. I shall here confine myself to the independent farmer and mechanic.

In general the articles were plain, but decent and appropriate. The sitting chairs ~~chairs~~, seats ~~were~~ were framed; the fabricated from bark twisted into cord and neatly interwoven by the hand, the frame unpainted. The Great armed ~~family~~ chair was considered indispensable by the master of the house and ~~was considered~~ acknowledged as his inalienable prerogative when presiding in the family.

A large & elevated case of drawers, was indispen to be necessary for a family, in which the linen &c was kept. These cases were somewhat ornamented by the workmen, though seldom extravagantly.

Large cases or bureaus were also supposed necessary and were ornamented or not, as ~~circumstances~~ taste required. In some ~~ancient~~ houses might be seen ~~cases~~ Berous of this kind of an antique appearance, extravagantly ornamented, & probably imported from Europe by ~~the~~ early emigrants. They were considered as memorials of the splendour of the ancient families from whom the owners descended.

The fire implements were generally fabricated from iron, cast or wrought, and were without much ornament. In large rooms where it was difficult to warm them throughout, was sometimes a long bench with a high close back, movable from one part to another. In cold winter weather ~~they~~ it was drawn towards the fire, and afforded a warm seat. This was called a settle.

The chimney fire place was wide and deep, to give room for a large back log, and long wood, which was piled upon the andirons in profusion.

Before this fire, lighted of the pitch pine knots, the family often regaled on apples, walnuts, butternuts & other delicious fruits, nor were the sparkling cider emitted. ~~Sometimes~~ ~~the~~ The stories of the hunter and of the Indians were often introduced, ~~and~~ were the exploits of the early settlers, listened to with thrilling emotions.

Table furniture. Here great plainness was seen. Pewter dishes were generally used and spoons of the same metal. In families who were in easy circumstances ~~those of~~ silver spoons were sometimes found; and in a few instances a silver tankard, which descended from some old rich family. The latter however was a rare article, and held almost sacred. When earthen ware came into use, it was of the plainest kind, ~~xxxx~~ without ornamented figures; ~~and~~ but many old people thought it inferior to pewter. In some families, ~~who were not~~ even in those that were affluent, the wooden trencher had its favorites who were unwilling to blunt their sharp knives by cutting their meats upon the face of an earthen plate. The beverage of beer or cider, at the table was ~~poured~~ served from the family mug, pewter or earthen, and all drank from one vessel. The head of the family usually carved the meats on the great platter, and each person helped himself to what was preferred.

Other

other furniture, such as wooden bowls, trays &c were
considered essential; and of these were seen handsome round
vessels prepared from the garden gourd ~~seed~~, for dipping
water; they were a cheap article and much used,
and as they are easily raised, and prepared, I think
it would be economical to continue their use.

Among household furniture the article brooms should
not be omitted. The corn broom was unknown in my
early days; those used were fabricated by the fugitive
Indians who occasionally resided in our woods, as well
as by some of our people. An ash or walnut sapling was
cut down, and one end pounded with a heavy mall
until the layers of the wood began to separate, when a
knife was applied to ~~separate~~ split them into fibres, until
a mass was ~~formed~~ accumulated of sufficient size for the broom; the other
part of the sapling was shaved down to form the handle.
Having fabricated a sufficient number for a load,
the Indian packed them upon his back and brought
them to the houses of ~~the~~ inhabitants for sale.

Before I proceed to other articles, I think it may
not be amiss to make a few remarks upon the use of
pewter vessels in cooking, and on the dining table.

Pewter is a compound of lead & tin, or of other

metals combined with lead, are very liable to oxyda
tion from acids; and the strong vinegar used with food
when poured upon a pewter plate ~~may~~ produced ~~the fruit~~
a decomposition and formed an oxyd, detrimental to the sto
mach. The quantity was, indeed ~~is~~ small, but if this
oxyd was often taken into the stomach, its bad effects
might become perceptible, and probably dangerous.
And hence, it has been thought, that colics have been
produced. And according to my observations, this
disorder has become less frequent, since the general
use of earthen ~~ware~~ and glass ware at the dining
table. But I leave the suggestion to the scientific
Physician; and proceed to the

articles of Clothing. English wollens & Irish linens were
of the finest texture were sometimes found in the merchants
Shops before the war of our revolution; but I believe
none of this quality was fabricated in America.
The clothing of the country people was principally manufactured
in ~~our~~ families and was generally of a coarse tex
ture. During the summer season linen was the common
dress and was generally checkered with blue stripes. This
constituted the shirts and trousers of the males, and
the home made woollen coat was only occasionally worn. The

The field labourer and the mechanic, sometimes wore his unbleached linen frock and ~~the~~ tanned sheep skin apron; and the low crowned wool hat, and cowhide Shoes were common, the latter were often dispensed with ~~[illegible]~~ in the time hoeing, planting and sowing.

In the winter season, the under dress was the wool-len ~~stripe~~ checkered shirt, ~~and~~ woollen breeches, a sort with a pair of coarse, knit leggings, reaching from the ~~[illegible]~~ hip to the shoe, to which they were fastened with strings. This was the common dress of the wood-sled-ers; ~~and~~ Leathern boots were ~~[illegible]~~ seldom worn excepting by some of ~~the~~ elderly men of property, who could afford more expensive habiliments.+

Among the ~~the~~ fashionable sort of people, the white lin-en shirt with flaunting ruffles at the wrists and bosom was seen; and when a pair of tight buff dressed, deer skin breeches, with silver knee buckles, a pair of white stockings, sometimes of silk, ~~and~~ calf skin shoes with silver buckles, were somewhat were added, the gentleman was complete, and excited the stare of the plain farmer.

+ ~~the~~ Boots, I believe, were little in vogue ~~novelty~~, among the early inhabitants of this country, ~~except by gentlemen~~. Soon after Genl ~~Officer~~ Washington joined Braddock's army in 1755, he wrote to a friend to procure for him a pair, as they were worn by the British officers, who consider them indispensable for all ~~[illegible]~~ Dress

Dress of Females If among females extravagance in dress was sometimes found, it was confined ~~generally~~ to those who were in affluent circumstances, and it ~~there may be~~ who might be ranked with the class of gentlemen just described. But a great portion ~~of females~~ ~~the ladies~~ were plain in their habiliments; Their dress was more variable than that of ~~the~~ males, but not so expensive. The Ladies were the principal fabricators of domestic clothing, and if they felt a disposition to indulge their tastes in finery, their cards, spindles and looms gave them some title to the indulgence; Linens and woolens constituted most of their dress, but of a less firm texture than for males. a garment ~~cloth~~ linsey-woolsey, composed of wool & flax, was much worn as were worsted and some other thin stuffs. According to my earliest recollection the dress was tight ~~about the body~~, and to give ~~their~~ the body a slender form, stays or bodices were ~~used~~ worn, as I now think, to the great ~~danger~~ detriment of ~~their~~ health. When English calicoes could be procured they were worn, but after the commencement of the revolutionary war this article became scarce, and their woolen gowns of home manufacture were the substitutes; ~~and~~ Often their dress consisted of short gowns and a garment neatly fabricated, called "quilt" During the greatest deprivations caused by the war substitutes were found for calicoes in stamped linen. Sheets which had become thin from use, were submitted to the process. Artist who had taken up the business, travelled about the country proffering their services to families. They had wooden stamps prepared with various figures of vines, plants and other devices such as ~~would~~ might please the eye. The colors used were various, but often no other than the juice of the elderberry, perhaps improved by some mordant to render ~~them~~ it more durable; but the colors were miserably defective at the best. Into the coloring matter the stamp was dipped, and then imprinted on the sheet, smoothly stretched out for the ~~operation~~ process. The work was not very expensive. ~~[illegible]~~ In this shape, we often saw our ~~[illegible]~~ sprightly females proudly flaunting in their home made calico. But like the feathers of some of our brilliant summer birds, the colors soon faded and left the wearer with the sad remembrance of ~~the~~ ~~their~~ its precious beauty.

The Ladies' shoe has undergone many alterations since my recollection. At first it was ~~made~~ furnished with a high wooden heel of a form for which I cannot invent an appropriate name. It was ~~shaped~~ carved out of ~~from~~ a block of soft wood of the height of about two inches and covered with leather. It had a good base and the lady could walk without tottering or sinking into the ground. But it soon underwent a change to a small conical spike and the Lady without considerable experience, was in as much danger of falling or sinking into soft ground, as if she ~~was~~ were mounted on a pair of stilts.

I come now to the head dress, and such has been ~~the~~ its metamorphosis, within my recollection, that I might fill a volume with its descriptions.

Long hair was worn, ~~and was stiffly combed~~ the fore part turned back, to meet that from behind and tied, or fastened, upon the upper part of the head in a knot with a string or ribband. Sometimes ~~a~~ the shaft of a quill was inserted in the knot to make all fast.

The ~~next~~ first variation was the ~~roll~~ small cylindrical roll placed across the os frontis, and the fore part of the hair neatly brushed over it and made fast by some curious contrivance. But this was soon found to be too low, and what I shall term the parapet roof, or cushion was substituted. It was of a singular form and resembled a piece of fortification, with a rampart ~~and~~ parapet.

deprivations caused by the war substitutes were found for calicos in stamped linen. Sheets which had become thin from use, were submitted to the process. Artists who had taken up the business, travelled about the country proffering their services to families. They had wooden stamps prepared with various figures of vines, plants and other devices such as ~~would~~ might please the eye. The colors used were various, but often no other than the juice of the elderberry, perhaps improved by some mordant to render ~~them~~ it more durable; but the colors were miserably defective at the best. Into the coloring matter the stamp was dipped, and then impressed on the sheet, smoothly stretched for the ~~operation~~ process. The work was not very expensive. ~~[illegible]~~ In this shape, we often saw our ~~industrious~~ sprightly females proudly flaunting in their home made calico. But like the feathers of some of our brilliant summer birds, their colors soon faded and left their owners with the sad remembrance of ~~the~~ ~~their~~ its precious beauty.

The Lady's shoe has undergone many alterations since my recollection. At first it was ~~made~~ furnished with a high wooden heel of a form for which I cannot invent an appropriate name. It was ~~shaped~~ carved out of ~~from~~ a block of soft wood of the height of about two inches and covered with leather. It had a good base and the lady could walk without tottering or sinking into the ground. But it soon underwent a change to a small conical spike and the Lady without considerable experience, was in as much danger of falling or sinking into soft ground, as if she ~~was~~ were mounted on a pair of stilts.

I come now to the head dress, and such has been ~~the~~ its metamorphosis, within my recollection, that I might fill a volume with its descriptions.

Long hair was worn, ~~and was stiffly combed~~ the fore part turned back to meet that from behind and tied, or fastened, upon the upper part of the head in a knot with a string or ribband. Sometimes ~~a~~ the shaft of a quill was inserted in the knot ~~to~~ make all fast.

The ~~next~~ first variation was the ~~[illegible]~~ small cylindrical roll placed across the os frontis, and the fore part of the hair neatly brushed over it and made fast by some curious contrivance. But this was soon found to be too low, and what I shall term the parapet roll or cushion, was substituted. It was of a singular form and resembled a piece of fortification, with a rampart ~~and~~ parapet

~~and bangatte~~; the front three or four inches in hight, extending from the right to the left of the head. The fabrication was difficult and required the skill of the Barber. Dressing the head with this roll was no mean task, and required an assistant. The front hair was brought over the roll and carefully pinned to it with bent wires in the form of a staple. These ~~bent~~ wires were so numerous that I recollect it was made a question whether the lady who wore the cushion roll was not exposed to lightning during a thunder gust. This mass was sometimes surmounted with a _skim-hat_ or small chapeau ~~was~~ which continued in fashion some time, but at length gave way for the _Crape Cushion_, fabricated from human hair. It was about the breadth of the previous roll but much lighter and required but little labor in its adjustment. When at length this lost its novelty the ladies head was unloaded, and, if my recollection is correct, ~~[illegible]~~ surmounted with the _fur hat_ something like that worn by males; but of course surmounted with ~~the~~ waving black plume and tassels. The introduction of this article, though cherished by the latter, was found rather too severe a tax upon the head of a family, and gave way for others ~~like~~

less expensive. To notice all the forms through which the bonnet has passed, down to the present time, would be a task on which I shall not adventure. But one I cannot pass unnoticed. It was something in the form of the present bonnet, but it projected in a tube ~~to the front~~ with a small opening or field of view, and might have served for a telescope by inserting in the tube the proper lenses.

The Dress of Children was plain, and they attended meeting on sundays, barefooted, the boys in their checked shirts and trousers and generally without coats, [illegible] particularly in warm weather. After the war jeans and fustians were considerably worn, and the pattern vests of striped cotton, or other thin stuffs, were fashionable with young men

Beds and Bedding. Feather beds were common in most families, and many kept flocks of geese which furnished ample supplies of feathers. The bedding was ~~linen~~, fabricated in families from the farm flax & wool which was accounted ~~an essential~~ indispensable articles.

In the latter part of winter the flax-dresser found full employment at the farmers barn. This business was considered as a trade, and a master of it, was ~~considerably~~ celebrated for his skill, and the maximum quantity he could chip in a day—say thirty or more pounds. As soon as the flax was ready, spinning commenced and the ladies were busily employed; sometimes they met in companies and spun on a strife.

~~[illegible]~~ For the manufacture of cloth in families, each was furnished with the ~~indigo~~ dye tub which ~~produced~~ created a demand for indigo, ~~& this~~ this was generally procured from the pedlar: who made the sale of it a good business. Nor was the skill of the housewife confined to the coloring of blue; dying ~~of~~ with several other colors was successfully practiced, and in this business many of our females were skillful.

"Solomon eulogized the industrious woman of his time, in the following language: "She seeketh wool, & flax, & worketh willingly with her hands"

"She perceiveth that her merchandise is good: her candle goeth not out by night."

"She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff."

Had the historian witnessed the industry of our females at the time to which I allude, would ~~[illegible]~~ he have bestowed less praise on them?

Amusements and pastimes. Though generally employed in some laudable business in the field or family, our young people found time for amusements.

Neighborly intercourse in the evenings was common; small parties often met and enjoyed social conversations and innocent diversions. If these were less formal and fastidious than those of the present time, they were not less innocent and useful. In a mixed company of both sexes, decorum was preserved; the conversation was upon the affairs of the village and extraordinary events in other places. Allusions to Novels and romances were not often ~~had~~ made, for we had few Walter Scots ~~or~~ Bulwers and Byrons. Language, if less grammatical, was not less amusing and edifying. It was free, and none remained in silence from fear of uttering an expression that might not stand the test of criticism. The game of whist was sometimes introduced but few were adepts in it ~~at the game~~. In my early days this and other games at cards, were little known; and when a pack of those painted boards were introduced from the secret pocket of the young man, who disregarded the admonitions of his watchful parents, they were viewed with a sort of sacrilegious horror.

In the winter season when the roads were good and the weather moderate, parties turned out for sleigh riding and returned in the evening, after partaking of a supper at some distant public house.

Social village dances were sometimes got up. For this purpose a room was engaged at some private house & refreshments procured by the company. The expenses of these was trifling, often not exceeding half a dollar to each male including the pay of the ~~musician~~ performer on the violin. Nor was the skill of the dancing master considered essential, in preparing the dancer to perform with grace and dexterity. ... —

One practice which I recollect in my early days and which may be called rustic barbarous, was ~~[illegible]~~ in vogue. Weddings were considered as important affairs and much parade was attached to them. The guests were particularly invited, and many ~~[illegible]~~ of course necessarily excluded. This was considered by the neglected gentlemen, an offence not to be passed with impunity. In the winter season this neglected party having provided a sleigh and a pair of rapid horses took a station near the house of mirth and detached three or four athletic men to enter the door or vestibule and ~~entryway to~~ act as spectators. Watching an opportunity when maiden-bride approached the door, or when ~~an~~ a favorable opening presented, she was suddenly seized, forcibly carried to the sleigh and driven off at full speed. If pursuit was made and the kidnappers overtaken, a scramble ensued; but ~~generally~~ this ~~did not often~~ seldom ever happened, for the party with the bride ~~had~~ gained so much on the pursuers, that they could not be overtaken, nor followed in their winding route. No injury was intended ~~for~~ to the bride. ~~once~~ She was at length carefully restored, and the affair subsided, without ~~recourse to law~~ ill will; for it was hardly held as a crime. This uncouth practice has been rare since my recollection. It was called _stealing the bride_.

Among males of mature age who had a taste for games that of _checquers_ was a favorite one, and some were admired for their skill in it: the game was played without a bet, and the winner was satisfied with his triumph.

Elderly people, ~~both male & female~~ of both sexes were generally in the habit of ~~were generally attached to the~~ smoking of tobacco, and for this purpose a stock finely cut up was always on hand, stored in the tobacco-box hung upon the wall of the [illegible] room, and the long pipe was ready in the pipe-hole near the fire place, ~~and~~ Some families kept a pair of small spring tobacco-tongs for lighting the pipe. The practice of smoking tobacco was more in vogue than chewing it; ~~the practice of smoking~~ & was very common after dinner, and in social parties round the winter evening fire.

Among the pastimes of young men were many of the athletic kinds, in the open field. among which the game of Foot-Ball was considered of high order. Each party had their two goals on a level field, a certain dist ance apart; the space between the two lines of Goals 15 or 20 rods. The ball was made of leather shaped to a Globe four or five inches in diameter, into which was placed a blown bladder and closed at a laced opening The ball when well blown, was very elastic, and was propelled by a smart kick of the foot; and the point in the game was to drive it between the antagonists goals, a certain number of times stipulated at the commencement of the game. During the play certain rules were ~~to be~~ observed by the parties, in relation to the possession of the ball, and the party who past the ball ~~through~~ between the antagonists goals ~~equal to the~~ as many times as the number of the game, before the other, claimed the conquest. The game required great exertion in the players and was sometimes attended with bruised shins if not broken bones.

There were several games with the hand-ball, in which ~~it was~~ was propelled with a bat or ball stick - all requiring skill activity and dexterity.

Another game called ~~was~~ Prisoners Base ~~and~~ was performed in the evening, by the light of the moon or stars. Two parties were posted at distant goals, and the contest was to pass a number of ~~more~~ laps, equal to the stipulated game, round the antagonists goal, before the other, which won the game. In this ~~game~~ sport considerable art was required to avoid capture by the antagonist, he who came from a goal last, having the preeminence, & on coming in contact, or so near as to touch one of the opposite party made him prisoner and brought him in. In passing round the antagonists goal any ex~~tent~~ of circuit was allowed, across lots fences and other obstructions, and much ~~care~~ caution was necessary to avoid ambuscades. Sometimes a ~~guard~~

a general rush was made by one party, to pass round their antagonists goal, by a sort of coup de main; but this was considered as a desperate attempt, and often attended with the loss of many prisoners. The game was rather military and required art, stratagem and swiftness in the race.

Wrestling, hugging and hopping were often practised. In the first dexterity was of more importance than strength; and it often happened that a skilful wrestler of an inferior size, would prostrate the stoutest and most athletic. In the second the victory depended very much upon strength and the struggle was violent and sometimes attended by injury. In the strife at hopping, he who leapt the greatest distance at one or more hops on one foot, was the conqueror. Here the tallest and most nervous generally excelled.

In these sports, and particularly in wrestling, some ~~noted for their skill~~ were noted for their skill and were considered Hectors. Many of the people of Colrain prided themselves in excelling in these sports; and within my recollection parties would visit our town and challenge our young people to the combat. & sometimes broils were the consequence.

Horse racing was another diversion; but this was never carried to the ~~height~~ extent found in the southern states. A level piece of ground was chosen; that in Muddy Brook street, south of the present Lothrop monument, was used by our people. In these races small bets were staked on the different horses, and a considerable number of people attended.

~~[illegible]~~ Holydays were not many. On the first monday of march, when our town officers were elected, boys met to drink egg pop, feast on and sell their ginger bread, and spend the day in high glee

Thanksgiving was another day of mirth, though the sports were of a moderate kind, as the day was considered rather as intended for religious purposes. On this day the family table was spread with a profusion of dishes and the ~~[illegible]~~ connections, even from a distance, were seen ~~[illegible]~~ at the feast. This was their annual visit.

But among the annual sports no one attracted more attention than the squirrel hunt. This took place generally in the month of November after the trees were divested of their foliage. Two parties consisting of considerable numbers, under two principle leaders, took the field early in the morning and continued out until night, when the loaded packs of the hunters were brought in & handed to the Comm-ing Committee selected for the purpose. And now were seen masses of slaughtered grey and black squirrels, partridges, and now and then turkeys, foxes and some other game. The squirrel was the unit of count and the other game numbered higher, in some proportion agreed on previous to the hunt, and the party who brought in the highest number won the supper and refreshments, which had been prepared at some place appointed, generally at some public house. And here the evening was spent in hilarity and details of the exploits of the day.

The great destruction of animals at these hunts, ~~were~~ was regarded ~~[illegible]~~ by some as a wanton waste & cruel sport ~~[illegible]~~; but ~~is seen~~ by others was deemed necessary to prevent an increase, especially of the squirrels, which might prey on the farmers fields.

(During the Corn harvests ~~a~~ collections of young people were sometimes ~~of both sexes, were~~ seen at the farmers corn barn for a husking bout. The farmer having collected a large mass of corn, and finding himself ~~off~~ pressed in his business, gave a general invitation which his kind neighbors cheerfully accepted. Having collected, the guests eagerly commenced the Job. Barlow has described his poetical ~~genius~~ pen in depicting one of the lively scenes, in which there is supposed a mingling of the two sexes. ~~which~~ That might have been the practice in times anterior to my recollection; though I am not certain but they have been continued to a later time. The following is his description.

"For now the corn-house fill'd, the harvest home,
Th' invited neighbors to the husking come;
A frolic scene, where work, and mirth, & play,
Unite their charms to chase the hours away.
Where the huge heap lies center'd in the hall,
The lamp suspended on the cheerful wall,
Brown corn-fed nymphs & strong hard handed beaux
Alternate rang'd, extend in circling rows.
Assume their seats, the solid mass attack;
The dry husks rustle, and the corn-cobs crack;
The song, the laugh, alternate notes resound
And the sweet cider trips in silence round.
The laws of husking every wight can tell;
And sure no laws, he ~~ever~~ keeps so well;

For each red ear a general kiss he gains,
With each smut ear she smites the luckless swain;
But when the same sweet maid the prize is cast,
Red as her lips, and taper as her waist,
She walks the round & culls one favor'd beau,
Who leaps the luscious tribute to bestow.
Various the sport, as all the wit and brains,
Of well pleas'd lasses & contending swains;
Till the vast mound of corn is swept away,
And he that gets the last ear wins the day."

~~If~~ In addition to the various pastimes of ~~these~~ social parties also charms & spells, ~~were sometimes found~~ something of the nature of those so facetiously described in Burns' Halloween, might be seen; but according to my recollection ~~when practised they~~ ~~[illegible]~~ they rather excited a smile than sober expectations or predictions of future fortunes. At the present day our Belles & Beaux ~~[illegible]~~ pride themselves in the elevation they claim above such ~~[illegible]~~ mirthful sports. But after all are they entirely free from ~~these~~

impressions of a similar nature? Are they not some times led into equal ~~absurdities~~ penalties by artful impostures, in medicine, surgery, animal magnetism & fortune telling.

If the old diversions and pastimes lacked the ~~perfection~~ refining ~~name~~ of modern times, they were innocent, ~~elevating the taste~~ and amusing, and such as the taste of the times selected: and with Goldsmith (I ~~say~~ add) respond
"yes! let the rich deride, the proud disdain,
The simple pleasures of the lowly train;
To me more dear, congenial to my heart,
One native charm, than all the gloss of art."

In the winter season the sleighing parties were seen; these ~~we~~ have already been noticed. One diversion however peculiar to that season demands ~~notice~~ a place among the pastimes. When the Ponds been were first firmly bridged with ice, ~~skating~~ frequenters resorted to them to exercise themselves in Skating. This was a very inviting ~~[illegible]~~ to those who had acquired dexterity on the art ~~[illegible]~~ ~~and~~ The rapidity of their motion their curious ~~and those~~ gyrations and ~~[illegible]~~ & off swervings to the right & left ~~[illegible]~~ on the smooth surface of the ice excited the surprise of the beholder unacquainted with the pastime ~~art~~.

This exercise is admirably described by Dr Darwin, in his Botanic Garden.

"So when the north congeals his watery mass,
Piles high his snows, and floods his seas with glass,
While many a month, unknown to warmer rays,
Marks its slow chronicle by lunar days;
Stout youths and ruddy maids, a sportive train,
Leave the white soil and rush upon the main.
From isle to isle the moon bright squadrons stray,
And win in graceful curves their easy way:
On step alternate borne, with balance nice
Hang o'er the gliding steel, and hiss along the ice".

within

Within my recollection we had many who were expert at this exercise; ~~and I have been informed that~~ In northern Countries journeys ~~of considerable length~~ were sometimes made on skates; and ~~that~~ the distance traversed in one day was great. Though the exercise was very agreeable in moderate weather, it was generally attended with a degree of lameness on the following day, owing probably to bringing into action muscles and cords in a manner different from common travelling. At the present day the exercise is little practised ~~resorted to~~ by our young men.

Among other employments and sports of the young were fishing, fowling, and trapping for furred animals. Shad and Salmon were taken with long seines, generally by select companies, who by a sort of possession, claimed some ~~some~~ favourite location on our river; for other ~~small~~ fish a smaller seine was provided, with which large quantities were often taken: These fish were also taken with the hook particularly in our ponds. Fowling in the spring when ducks were plenty was ~~one~~ an attracting sport as was that for partridges, which were plenty in the valleys bordering on the meadows.
Trapping ~~the~~

Trapping for the Musk Rat & Wood Chuck ~~and the~~
was a favorite ~~considerable~~ employment for boys; the former
were taken with the box or stet trap; the latter with
the steel trap, and ~~their~~ skins were ~~were~~ converted to a sort
of leather by a simple process. In trapping for the
Fox, much skill was required ~~necessary~~, and such was the
sagacity and cunning of the animal that they were
not often thus taken. Certain trappers pretended
to possess enticing baits by which the animal could
be attracted to the trap; but this like nostrums was a secret and
sometimes sold at a high rate. But the whole
of these employments were sports rather than a
profitable business. The Otter was found in our
meadows, but not frequently ~~often~~ taken; and the mink &
raccoon ~~was often seen and~~ sometimes hunted for ~~the~~ fur. The Catamount
& Beaver had disappeared previous to my recollection
but the Bear and wolf ~~were~~ occasionally roamed the woods ~~found~~; & ~~fr~~
from ~~the~~ old hunters we heard many stories of their
adventures with these animals, as in ~~well as Deer~~
~~hunting~~ well as in the chase of Deer, which
were plenty (since my recollection)

Condition

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Condition

Condition of the people during the Revolutionary wa

The most of the necessaries of life were raised; or manu
factured by the farmer, there were some ~~that~~ could
not be procured without difficulty. The destitu
tion of culinary salt was most severely felt. In some instan
small quantities were sent to the towns by government, &
and distributed among the inhabitants; but this
afforded but a pittance. Another article of nec
ity was window glass which could not be supplied
and no good substitute ~~could be~~ was found. At one pe
sheets of mica, found in some of the granite ~~qu~~ the
~~rries~~ hills in New Hampshire, were used for windows;
but though ~~it~~ this substance answered the purpose of keeping out
cold and transmitting light, it could not be ob-
tained in sufficient quantity; and, of course, our windows
presented rather a sorry appearance.

~~That other articles of necessity were either manufac~~
~~or procured in the country.~~ As respects iron no grea
scarcity is recollected: our imported Cutlery

hence lost its beauty, but it retained the essential quality of cutting. Many articles which in ordinary times are supposed necessary, were found to have ~~been~~ had their value in imaginary wants. Nor did our Ladies suppose it necessary to pass the cape of Good-hope to supply ~~their~~ tables, with condiments; and their apple mince, and pumpkin pies, ~~the~~ retained a good relish in the yankee appetite.

Evidently ~~[illegible]~~ ~~in~~ spirits were in moderate use and thought necessary; and as there was little imported, substitutes were found in the distillation of the juice of the cornstalk and molasses when it could be obtained. A scanty supply of sugar, molasses, was obtained from the maple of our upland towns, and it was found that a ~~moderate~~ smaller quantity would satisfy our real wants. And in short, the important fact was discovered, that the ~~real~~ wants of nature ~~were~~ are much less than habit had superinduced.

One of the greatest embarrassments felt, was from the ~~fluct~~ ~~[illegible]~~ decreasing value of our paper money. At first it was current & ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ taken in exchange for the products of the country. I recollect seeing large sheets of this money in the hands of vendors of our Beef Cattle, received in payment for those sold for the army. For a short time it sustained a credit; but it soon began to depreciate and at length sunk to a sort of negative value, and ruined some ~~who~~ who kept it long on hand. While it retained any value it was perplexing to deal in it. Scales of depreciation were from time to time prepared, and to determine the value of a quantity, it was necessary to appeal to them. Before it entirely ceased to circulate, it was said, 600 or 700 dollars were paid for a mug of flip. Some relied on the faith of government to redeem the bills; but what was our government at the time? and what could it do with such a mass as had been put in circulation, a large proportion of which was counterfeit!

Another embarrassment was the frequent calls for our militiamen, and it often happened that they turned out with reluctance. On the near approach of Genl Burgoyne however the call was general, and many took the field with determined ~~animated~~ spirits. Barlow describes the ~~excited~~ ~~spirit~~ ardor of the country at this ~~time~~ ir ~~the~~ of affairs stirring scene.

"Sudden ~~the~~ patriot flame each province warms,
Deep danger calls, the freemen quit their farms;

Seize their tried muskets, name their chiefs to lead,
Embrace their parents and to vengeance speed.
O'er all the land the kindling ardor flies,
Troop follows troop and flags on flags arise;
Concentred, trained, their forming files unite
Swell into squadrons and demand the fight".

The approach of the British army created much apprehension ~~alarm~~ among the inhabitants, and though its operations were principally confined to the Hudson, we were admonished by the thunder of the artillery at Bennington, which I very distinctly heard, that our peaceful fields might soon be rolled in garments of blood. The surrender of this army animated the people to perseverance in the cause. But still the pressure of the war in subsequent years nearly extinguished their zeal. To furnish recruits for the Continental army was a difficult task. Recruiting officers met with little success, and + became necessary to adopt a sort of conscription, for the purpose. The people of the several towns were divided into classes and compelled to furnish one or more recruits, ~~the same~~ from the class, by hiring or draft. When men were hired large sums of money were sometimes paid, to the great injury of the poor ~~[illegible]~~ man. One grand objection of our young ~~recruits~~, to enlisting into the Continental army was the fear of the rigid discipline imposed by its officers. In ~~the~~ true spirit of militiamen they believed this discipline to be totally unnecessary, and that men could be brought up to the common~~s~~ smoothly soft pronunciamento - a notion too prevalent among the militia of the present day.

The gloom which hung over the peaceful citizen, was at length dissipated by the surrender of Lord Cornwallis army in Virginia: & the Demonstration of joy throughout the country, were general, and I recollect ~~the~~ the peak of our eastern mountain presented a bonfire in the evening and our village shook with the thunder of our heavy guns formerly used as a signal of Indian depredation.

In so long a ~~war~~ struggle while the minds of men were in a turbulent state, it is not to be supposed the peaceful arts could have made much progress. To hold our own without retrogradation was thought ~~to ac~~-ing quite; and I believe it may be truly said ~~that~~ amidst the contaminating influences always found in a ~~state~~ time of war, our people held to their moral principles without ~~contamination~~ much deterioration ~~diminution~~? Fortunately we were ~~at a~~ distant from the field of contest, even at no time saw large bodies of troops within our limits. We it is true felt the war, but did not see it; and if from opposite political sentiments neighbors were sometimes pitted against each other, this did not last. When the war ceased kind sympathies returned, all were friends, and the Constitution of our State was the political pole star.

One inconvenience of the war I have omitted to notice. We had no mails to facilitate intercourse, and ~~of course~~ the transmission of intelligence was not rapid; but we received newspapers once in each week from Boston by Post, by a footing when the roads were impassible, ~~by foot & otherwise~~ on horse back, but they were not extensively circulated.

Soon after the war new objects were presented to the enterprising, & a brisk current of emigration was seen passing through our village to the new State of Vermont. That State was already considerably settled on Connecticut River, and at, and about Bennington & Rutland; but the western northern and much of the interior were wild and waste. The time had now come when that remarkably healthy region was to stocked by hardy & industrious inhabitants

from

from the ~~old~~ New England States, and its valle
and hills converted to agricultural fields & flouri
ingtowns, to be added to the American family.

Restoration of trade, and its consequences. (Copied)
Though during the war our people had learned to
subsist on the real necessaries of life, on the return
of trade and commerce with foreign nations and
the multiplication of dealers in foreign articles in
the interior, they began to indulge in superflui-
-ties and seemed to forget the substantial articles whi
their spindles and looms had furnished; and such
was their avidity for the "leeks and onions of Egyp
that the traders books soon exhibited [illegible] lis
of trinkets which were with difficulty balanced. Th
with the efforts of government to raise money by ta
ation to discharge something of the public debt, broug
on a pressure which threw our state into confusion
and for a time our prospects wore a gloomy aspe
The mobbs which assembled to oppose the sitting
of our judicial Courts under various leaders, and
the final subversion of the insurrection, after the
repulse of a large force under Shays at Springfield.

in 1787 are known. In this opposition to government, were many deluded young men, and a large portion of our old Continental soldiers, whose miserable pay and hard services in the army had left them to poverty and dissipation: and though it became necessary for the arm of government to be raised against them and bring them back to the laws, they were viewed with commiseration, — the legal penalties they had incurred were assuaged & the disturbance subsided with fewer evils than had been fearfully anticipated.

Among the foreign articles of importation that of ardent spirits from the West Indias proved the most pernicious. Vast quantities were received into our ports, distributed throughout the country and resorted to as a beverage by a great majority of the people; and I recollect the time when ~~most~~ many of our field laborers, demanded at least a pint of spirits as a necessary stimulus for a days work. Hence such an abuse of this article, we escaped its ruinous effects we were, to say the least, very fortunate.

Brighter prospects respecting the abuse of this article have now appeared; and if the efforts now making to suppress intemperance in the use of ~~it~~ spirits, be prudently
pursu

managed ~~conducted~~, much benefit may result to the community. A total abstinence is not to be expected so long as the article is ~~an article of~~ imported as one of trade; and to prohibit its sale while it is so extensively used in medicine and in the arts would be difficult if not a ~~an unnecessary~~ fruitless measure.

In the loose confederation of the States which existed during the war, it was ~~seen~~ seen that the powers of Congress were too limited for the union and the management of the great interests of the nation; and the inconvenience in respect to administration that something different must be provided or anarchy would follow. The favorable moment was seized, the federal constitution framed and adopted. Every thing now took a new spring, and we at length ~~found~~ saw the United States elevated to a seat among the nations of the Old Continent. Our welfare and prosperity now depend on the measures we ~~shall~~ pursue ~~and if they are~~ wise we may ~~continue~~ be great and happy; by a contrary course, become a miserable and degraded people, proved incapable of supporting a free government founded on the great rights of the individual, ~~imposing it~~ of which it was composed. (Perhaps Erase this)

Of the

of the Clergy, - the Religious Sentiments of our people and their means of mental improvement.

The Clergy who first settled in the towns on, and in the vicinity of Connecticut River in Massachusetts, were generally of the Congregational order and received their Education at the New England Colleges. The Rev. Jonathan Ashley was minister of Deerfield at the time of my birth & according to my early recollections he was much esteemed by our people for his literary acquirements and acute penetration; and I believe he sustained an elevated ~~place~~ stand among the neighbouring Clergy. If he afterwards found opposers in ~~the~~ those whose political sentiments differed from his, they were candid enough to allow him rectitude of intention and simpleness of character. At the time to which I allude, the clerical profession was considered as one of the higher order, and there was a sort of reverential dignity attached to it. When in the presence of the minister of the place, young ~~[illegible]~~ people felt something of awe and considered his opinions on most subjects, intitled to implicit confidence; and in children this awe was heightened by the clerical costume of the day - Dark colored ~~[illegible]~~ clothes the head surmounted with ~~the~~ a large white wig and a three cornered hat, could not fail of effect ~~[illegible]~~

nearly all of the ordained ~~Clergy~~ ministers were of the Calvinistic school, but my impression is, not of the most rigid sort. A this day some of them would be ranked with the moderate class. If now and then ~~an~~ itinerant preacher, was ad mitted to our pulpit of more rigid tenets, who attempte to perturb his intimacies, & to work upon the passions & fears of the hearers, he was called a Hopkinsian, or one who had suffered his enthusiasm to overcome ~~his~~ good sense.

Previous to my time the ~~irrational~~ ravings of ~~outrageous~~ Whitfield and others called new lights, had extended considerably through the country; but though they ~~may~~ have visited the ~~[illegible]~~ lower part of the Connecticut I believe they did not often reach higher up the River than Northampton, where the people were ~~seem~~ known to have been very susceptible of enthusiastic awakings;-probably from the bewildering metaphysics of ~~Dr~~ Edwards. The Clergy intrusted with ~~[illegible]~~ Congregations in this quarter, seem not to have been very desirous of promoting these itinerant disorders; and accord to my recollections they were immaculate gentlemen of good acquirem and esteemed by their people for their probity.

Among other sects ~~p~~numerous were the Baptists or as they were generally called, Separatists. According to my recollection the generality of the ~~[illegible]~~ preachers ~~of the sect~~ were very illiterate, so ignorant, and enthusiastic, and possessed little or nothing of the respect and intelligence of the present clergy of this sect. They had few regular congregations, travelled over the Country preaching ~~their~~ sermons to those who were willing to hear them, and when a family or part of a family ~~were~~ was found inclined to their tenets a meeting would be notified generally in the evening, where the young people ~~would~~ assembled, rather as a matter of sport than of serious instruction. And so disorderly were some of these assemblages that I recollect instances in which the regular pastor of a ~~place~~ town has exercised his ~~influence~~ ~~authority~~ authority in ordering his people to their homes - a measure no doubt, fraught with greater evil than good. The elevated stand this sect has now taken in the community, is a striking illustration of the benefits resulting from education and a systematic course.

On Sundays it was the general practice to attend meeting at the town Church where ~~each~~ a family & sometimes two occupied a pew set apart by what was called seating of the house. The pews had their rank from ~~[illegible]~~ lowest to high and, other things alike, the eldest persons occupied the highest seats; on the broad aisle nearest to pulpit. young people were allowed to sit in the gallery in such seats as they should select

The sermons, delivered from the pulpit, were less diffuse, & shorter, than at the present time; a few points of doctrine were selected and enforced by many quotations from scripture; and the sermon closed ~~by~~ with an improvement; ~~and~~ moral principles and elegant sentiments found little space; it was thought it was better filled with scriptural ~~[illegible]~~ applications.

If the discourses were sometimes dull and uninteresting it was thought to proceed from a lack of spiritual zeal in the hearers, rather than the want of study in the preacher.

The church music was vocal; one of Watts psalms was read from the desk and a chorister, perhaps a deacon, commenced the tune ~~without~~ ~~he~~ once was followed by the singers ~~from~~ in their seats in various parts of the ~~church~~ house. one line sung, and then was repeated by ~~a deacon~~ some other person, and then sung ~~by~~ as at first and so continued through the psalm. (A)

One ~~humorous~~ incident I well recollect. To keep strict order, tythingmen were stationed in various parts of the house, and if young lads were seen to smile, or what was called to play during service, one or ~~both~~ more were seized by the watchful ~~tything men~~ sentinel, hurried from the gallery down stairs to the broad aisle, ~~where they were~~ and there seated during the remainder of the service, to be stared at by the audience. This was

ected a monument against ~~the~~ offence which was not soo
forgotten, and often ~~[illegible]~~ produced an aversion to attendance
at meeting.

2) No Church organs were used, and when at length other instruments were introduced in aid of the voice, some people could not be reconciled to a base viol in the form of a fiddle. Thus inveterate are our religious notions before the mind is liberalized by more extended views, and taught that pure worship is found in the heart rather than in forms and ceremonies.

Errors of this kind were too prevalent in the Church discipline of the clergy; some others I might mention of ~~the most disgusting~~ of a restrictive nature, & rigorous in their effects ~~tendency to severity~~. But ~~If~~ our Clergy sometimes assumed undue ~~power~~ authority, it no doubt proceeded from the obsequiousness of their parishioners. Nothing is more true than, that when ~~there is~~ unbounded confidence is placed in ~~[illegible]~~ any one, he is at length led to abuse it, and to check this disposition a confronting spirit is to be exercised. This we all know is necessary as regards political men, and our frequent elections are based upon this principle. But on the whole I am persuaded that if our Clergy were sometimes in fault as regards their dictation, they were not more so than other men in like circumstan his respects the Religious sentiments of the ~~society~~ people, in my early days, it may be remarked that though there were a few who had the independence of mind to search and think for themselves, the majority ~~[illegible]~~ ~~considered~~ shaped ~~with~~ theirs to the sentiments of the settled Clergyman of the the town, and few of different sentiments, were bold enough, openly to oppose him.

If the Calvinistic doctrines of irrespective election, atonement for the sins of the elect only, of total depravity in consequence of the fall of Adam, of predestination, and the final perseverance of the saints, were advanced from the pulpit, the majority believed them because the minister asserted them to be true. If any of his hearers were less obsequious and, ~~like~~ "a tongue in cheek" set ~~many of the present day~~, considered these "doctrines" ~~severe &~~ doctrines severe & gloomy (as depriving God of his character as the Father of the human family ~~and~~ as representing his moral administration as resting on mere sovereign power, and as making the individuals of the human race, without any apparent cause of distinction, either the objects of favoritism, or of inexorable wrath and interminable punishment. If any, I say, viewed them in this light, they were generally silent, or at most, let them pass ~~a~~ with a "sigh or a smile". Nor was it until after e close of the revolutionary war, that a more consistent heology, including the Unity of God, began to be propo otice in our part of the State; and I well recollect the ~~worrying anathemas poured~~ sanctimonious frowns of the ~~frowned out, by~~ the ~~orthodox~~ lergy, upon all who dared to entertain doubts of the genuineness truth of the system of Calvin, as it had been taught by our Reverend Fathers.

That this system should have held the sway so long as it did, is not strange when it is recollected that children were taught it from their cradles, and that few public ations were formed in the country opposed to it.

In all our common schools children were carefully aught the Westminster Catechism, ~~and~~ also in families on Sundays, and studied in our Colleges. True, to children it was generally as unmeaning as the chattering of a magpie, and ~~generally~~ in most cases lost its effects from ~~the frequency~~ of its repetition. If it had any effect, certain it was to cloud the mind in mystery, and to reconcile it to implicit belief in dogmas which had no foundation other than in the *ipse dixit* of ~~the~~ its ~~our~~ teachers]

But though our Clergy were Calvinistic, it is believed as I have before remarked, they were not of the most rigid sec

I recollect a few instances in which it was said ~~the~~ ~~settl~~ that so
ministers had adopted ~~professed~~ sentiments more liberal than were g
erally professed; but these were viewed with a degree o
suspicion, though, perhaps, from prudent motives, litt
was said about them.

[When at a later period, liberal ~~Unitarian~~ clergymen began t
multiply and to be listened to by the people, the cry of
infidelity! ~~and the~~ prostration of Christianity, was set up by the
zealous adherents of the old orthodoxy; and that this
noisy zeal should have accelerated the principles of liber
Christianity among reflecting & enlightened men, is precis
what might have been anticipated.]

The means of mental improvement according to my
early recollection, were limited. In the winter season
boys were sent to the town school, perhaps the only on
in the place, where they were taught reading, writing &
arithmetic. The spelling book most in repute was
Dilworth's, and subsequently Perry's & Webster's, the chief ~~reading~~ reading
book at school was the Bible which was read in course by
classes; and I well remember ~~the~~ the stammering efforts we
made to pronounce many of its Hebrew words, and our h
itancy at some of its indelicate ~~phrases~~ unmodified phrases. The master

ance sometimes had the discretion to pass over some points of th nglish Grammar was little taught, and indeed many, even f those who had been educated in Colleges, appeared but ittle acquainted with ~~English~~ this branch of philology, hough they knew something of the Latin grammar. The iscipline of the school was rather rigid, and the ferule nd rod were often applied to the refractory pupils.

In addition to these ~~schools~~ we had evening schools n the winter season, for instruction in arithmetic: ome one who have acquired ~~some~~ expertness in he rules, undertaking the task for a small compensa ion. If a pupil proceeded through the common o the extraction of the Roots, he was reckoned something bove par. Several authors were used, but Ward's ntroduction to the mathematics was considered, and I hink justly, as the best. His algebra and Geometry were owever not ~~often~~ studied ~~understood~~ by many.

In my early days there was a ~~great~~ scarcity of Books. ~~[illegible]~~ The family Bible, Watts Psalms and ~~a few~~ now & then a Sermon were found in ~~[illegible]~~ fami ies, but few ample libraries were to be seen ~~found~~ in our illage. Some of our educated ~~[illegible]~~ men have a considerable number books and I recollect in the collection of Major Williams was ~~[illegible]~~ Chambers Cyclopaedia as I then thought a wonderful

works. The most extensive library was ~~that~~ of Do
mas Williams. Besides a good collection of medical
it consisted of many miscellaneous ~~[illegible]~~ works of reput
among which was a large set of the London monthly Magazin
bound in yearly volumes, ~~which contained~~ containing many m
plans and portraits, and by an intimacy with the
family, I had the good fortune frequently to peruse
and if I have acquired any taste for reading, I a
tribute it almost wholly to the gratification I received ~~fr~~
from this ~~[illegible]~~ circumstance. In these Books I found scientific Es
History, voyages, travels, and Reviews of ~~Books~~ authors that le
me ~~on~~ to the ~~pursuit~~ of others as I could obtain them
and if, in after life, I ~~spent~~ felt an attachment to ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ books, it must be attributed to a taste which
~~formed~~, ~~almost~~ thus ~~[illegible]~~, acquired ~~by the perusal of those~~ ~~[illegible]~~
~~young of the present day, can hardly appreciate~~
~~advantages they possess over their fathers, in the multip~~
~~[illegible]~~ ~~cheapness of Books; and if any complain~~
~~want of opportunity to acquire useful knowledge, for~~
~~beguiling the leisure hours, it must be from motive~~ ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~rather than from want of means.~~ ~~Removed~~

~~[illegible]~~ Female education. This was ver
limited in my early days & females were taught to

D.

read write and sometimes cipher; they were sent to female instructors and much of their time ~~was~~ spent in needle work, and it was thought ~~that~~ if they were well acquainted with domestic business, super ~~house~~ manufactures, and the management and government of their families when they became mothers, they were by no means deficient in the useful branches; and many such mothers were ~~worthy~~ the pride of their children.

At this day no inconsiderable number of the sex ~~females~~ have attained a high niche in the temple of science. ~~We~~ ~~see~~ we propose behold a Mrs. Sommerville, seated with ~~the~~ profound La Place, in ~~the~~ luminous Chariot of Phaeton, coursing ~~traversing~~ along the galaxy,—intricately inspecting the mechanism of the heavens,—presenting diagrams of parts of the wonderful machine, and ready formulae for calculating, ~~it~~ its various ~~beautiful~~ motions and prodigious magnitude!— In the days of Hesiod ~~ancient times~~ she would have been placed among the Constellations. Such efforts excite admiration;— we shrink back and wonder at the depth of the human mind, and acknowledge ~~that~~ female talent high the due cultivation is in no respect ~~[illegible]~~ deficient! ~~[illegible]~~ But does the female

character become more amiable, or more valuable
in society by such high attainments? And, if so highly talented, are they a
as same ~~citizens~~ subjects, entitled to all the rights and pri
eges, as they are called, of males? ~~And~~ When I examine
~~the~~ principles of equality, as laid down in our Co
stitutions, I confess, nothing appears against the c
rectness of this position. In Europe we see ~~they~~ females m
be Queens at 19 years; and wield the executive pow
of great nations; and if Queens, why not member
parliament and entitled to all offices conferred on
our Sex! ~~Should~~ Should such a system be adopted, a differ
mode of education ~~may~~ might be necessary for them; and ou
perhaps a deeper logic, to counteract the effect of fem
oratory, when displayed in the ~~peculiar~~ fascinating charms of th
sex.

The wise Laws. of these I have no very clear recollection
relating to my early days. They were I believe m
rigid ~~then~~ at present; and whether ~~the~~ life, personal & other rights of the ~~...~~
~~individuals~~ people were so nicely guarded as now, I cannot ce
-tain. I recollect ~~that~~ a creditor, after ~~obtaining~~
judgment in a Court, might incarcerate his debtor
any length of time, if he did not pay the debt

nounced he, the creditor, defrayed the expence of his board at the prison, there being no law for securing out.

Corporeal punishments were inflicted by our Courts, and the same power was extended even to justice Courts;— ~~they~~ each might whip, place in the stocks, imprison punish the convicted culprit; and I recollect to have seen, not only males but females, tied to the whipping post and writhing under the lash of the Sheriff or Constable for the crime of petit Larceny! We now recoil at such punishments, and hesitate not to pronounce them barbarous.

On looking over the history of ~~[illegible]~~ nations, it will be seen that the laws are among the last to feel the meliorating hand of improvement. In Europe long after considerable progress had been made in civilization they ~~laws~~ remained in the background, and the most cruel punishments continued, even to torture on the Rack and burning at the stake for acts now deemed inoffensive. Unlike the unerring laws of nature, Civil ~~they~~ rules are founded on the capricious notions of men. How imperfect!— how fluctuating and how often unjust. of

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and twisted ~~[illegible]~~ strained by the artful Lawyer! —

I have sometimes been inclined to the belief, that m
who have long made the law their study, to the exc
sion of other branches of science, are apt to becom
callous to the fine sensibilities of our nature. Precedin
and habits seem to carry them onward ~~along~~ regardless o
right or wrong. And when great ~~law~~ talents are
found in the lawyer unconnected with humane dispositions,
~~the lawyer or~~ his arts influence
~~profession~~ may be dangerous.

~~Look at~~ Instance the ~~great~~ noted Sir Edward Coke, Attorney Gene
under James 1st ~~[illegible]~~ whom D'Israeli says "was a mere
great Lawyer and like all such, had a mind so walled
by law-knowledge, that in its bounded views it sh
out the horizon of the intellectual faculties, and the
whole of whose ~~[illegible]~~ philosophy lay in the statutes."

In ~~the~~ trial of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1603 for a sup
charge of high treason, Coke's deportment towards th
justly celebrated scholar and illustrious ~~victim~~ man, during th
trial, is a striking demonstration of the callosity of
~~[illegible]~~ mind. He loaded Raleigh with abuses and scurrility ~~[illegible]~~
"called him the most notorious traitor that ever ca
to the bar: ~~a monster~~ a monster, - a viper, - a spider
hell, - a damnable atheist, - ~~(one who had an english~~

~~use [illegible] a [illegible] heart~~") and by ~~the~~ his great in
luence with the court, succeeded in procuring the con
demnation of his victim, in ~~the~~ opinion of some of
~~some~~ the ~~[illegible]~~ writers of English history," in direct opposition to the
law," ~~then existing~~; "and thereby furnished a precedent, by means
which at after periods many other persons accused
high treason were unjustly and unlawfully convicted."

But thanks to the enlightened wisdom of latter times,
such overbearing audacity ~~finds a check~~ finds a veto in the voice
of the people; and we flatter ourselves ~~that~~ the burn
ing of men at the stake for religious ~~opinions~~ sentiments and deluging countries in
blood to extirpate heretics, is not again to curse
a civilized country. The very thought of such times
strikes a tremor to the heart, and collapses the soul
within us. (Close here)

Sketch of Recent Improvements

Having thus noticed the times and things of my early
recollections, I shall now ~~close~~ present ~~with a~~ ~~[illegible] another of~~
sketch of ~~the~~ improvements ~~that~~ have since been ~~since~~ made, ~~and~~
chiefly since the Revolutionary war.
~~and examine the question how far our condition~~
~~may~~ import ~~be said to be improvable to that I have depicted~~
~~former [illegible] times~~.

In

In pursuing the subject proposed, I am aware of th
difficulty of avoiding partiality for things of our own
times. With the young it is common to undervalue
what is ancient; and on the other hand, old age is
apt to depreciate what is new. ~~and so should it b~~
Both of these prejudices are carried to excess, and in the
sketch I have proposed, should be avoided.

There may be ~~some~~ difficulty in some cases in dete
mining what is an improvement; but the followin
I think, a good criterion. When any scheme is
brought forward ^adopted which adds to the ^welfare or happin
of community, whether it be a machine, or som
thing which expands the mind and better fi
it for the discharge of its duties in a well regula
society, it may be called an improvement.
Many things, however, on a superficial view m
appear as such; but in a short time be foun
quite the reverse. Cases of this kind we have
all witnessed, and they sometimes operate inj
-uriously, by checking our efforts, where impro
ments are wanting and might easily be at
-tained.

hat many additions ~~and alterations~~ have been made
to the arts and sciences; great discoveries in geography ~~made~~ effected;
new modes of living adopted; manners and customs
revived; & new systems ~~modes~~ of education introduced since
my ~~early~~ recollections, is readily admitted; and
it would be mortifying indeed to the lover of know-
ledge to find we have not improved our con-
dition // among the improvements which I shall notice
~~In the list of [illegible] which I have~~ ~~which follows~~
are many that were common in Europe before my time;
but ~~were~~ not introduced in to this ~~Colonies~~ Country until a later pe-
riod. I shall arrange them, so far as my recollection serves
me, in chronological order, but without rigid accuracy

1. Of the useful Arts.

at the commencement of hostilities with Great Britain
the manufacture of Salt-Petre for Gun Powder, was one
which engaged the attention of the people. The soil from
under old houses, barns &c. was collected and conside-
rable works carried on in many of the old towns, and
iron Cannon, balls & shot, cast at the iron foundries;
the perfection of some arms for the ~~army~~ military ~~[illegible]~~
subsequent
a later period. During the war, if any progress was
made in the arts, it was limited to articles of some necessity, (which

have been enumerated ~~under the heads of~~ [illegible] ~~history~~
Soon after the close of the war the attention of th
people was turned to other objects, among which
were.

Turnpike Roads, Canals, Extensive Arch Bridges, St
eam boats, ~~and~~ pleasure Carriages, New machinery fo
Grist mills, ~~Carding mills~~, wooden clocks, & som
~~other~~ machinery of minor importance. The introduction of
~~mail~~ stage coaches and mails produced a change in th
modes of travelling and intercommunication.

The manufacture of Glass, iron implements, an
finestones of common sorts followed in ~~course~~ course.

After the extensive growth of Cotton in the Southern States, the fabrication of Cotton goods, calico
&c. was extensively introduced in New England, as
well as that of woollens; and the manufacture o
linen in families was nearly laid aside; since whi
the article flax is raised but in small quantities.
To supply the woolen factories large flocks of shee
are ~~now~~ raised by many farmers.

Considerable variations have been made in the m
agriculture; the introduction of Gypsum as a m
nure has been found important on some soils; a

nd ~~some~~ many new implements of husbandry introduced; mong which are fanning and threshing mills, and mow g machines, but the latter have not come into gener l use in this part of the Country. Some new seeds have en introduced, among which are several varieties f wheat, Indian Corn and potatoes; and the breed f cattle and swine ~~are~~ is believed to be improved. he cultivation of silk is may thought by many to be im portant and so far as supply of thread is useful it may e so; but further than this many think of is doubtful. utility. n the construction of ~~cemeterys~~ houses, bridges and monuments the ranite of our primitive regions, and ~~the~~ marble of he County of Berkshire, ~~[illegible]~~ are found to be very impor ant, and ~~they~~ they are inexhaustible.

. But among mechanical inventions nothing of late as been so wonderful as the application of ~~the~~ team ~~engine~~ to navigation and for propelling travelling carriages on rail roads, another recent invention. Places ~~Situations~~ on our large rivers in the interior, are now reached with facility; ~~and~~ distance is reduced to a very limited what ~~quantity~~; and by rail roads ~~and~~ carriage, ~~has ceased~~, bids fair to be considered as no impediment to intercourse. Unfortunately however

the accidents to which the steam engine is liable
particularly in bursting or collapsing of its boilers, is li
to abate much of ~~the~~ value which has been placed upon steam Boa
But it is hoped that more care in ~~their~~ construction, a
careful frequent inspections, and ~~faithful~~ thorough repairs will re
move the present objections against ~~them~~. Wheth
they ever, by any improvements, become *safe sea*
is, ~~in my opinion~~, a question of uncertain solutio
Other important inventions are seen in the *Ne*
printing presses, and paper mills ~~of the country~~, b
which the multiplication of Books has been va
increased, and their prices reduced.

The arts of *engraving* have ~~[illegible]~~ been carried to g
perfection in this Country. I recollect when there w
not a skillful engraver in America.

Lythography is a ~~late~~ new art, and as it is a cheap
process, and gives a fine impression, particularly
~~portraits~~, buildings, Maps and animals it is ~~[illegible]~~ foun
highly ~~very~~ useful.

Portrait painting is another art ~~that~~ has risen t
considerable eminence in this Country since we hav
many among us, who deservedly meet with good encourag
ement.

An ~~other~~ invention of considerable importance
s found, in the fabrication of over-shoes, clothes
and various useful instruments, from caout-chouc
r Indian Rubber, procured from a tree in South
America, (named by Botonists, syphonia elastica.)
Other useful arts might be mentioned, such as
the making of culinary salt, sulphate of iron, or
copperas; ~~[illegible]~~ smelting of lead, preparing of loafsugar
and many other articles, by chemical processes.

The old arts of tanning, shoe making, carpentry, joinery
carriage & wheel making, ~~and~~ the construction of plows
and other farming implements, have undergone considerable variations; as have some other branches mechanical business.

As a sort of primum mobile for the whole business of the country
Banks have been established, ~~throughout the country~~
and paper bills are now almost the only circulating currency. When I first saw one of those
bills I conceived it of no other use than for a
convenient wadding for my hunting Gun; and ~~b~~
of use as money. Without recurring to the fact
that the credit of the bills was based upon Gold and

silver deposited in the vault of the Bank, I thought
had no _intrinsic_ value. When I saw a silver dollar I
valued it as a dollar, because I knew all our people p
the same value upon it. The credit of the bill, then, depe
on the certainty that it would bring a dollar ~~—~~ to my
pocket on presenting it to the bank whence it issue
~~but~~ yet of this I was not certain. But on reflection I
found that the value of a silver dollar was not strictly intrin
but had its ~~value~~ credit from the estimation in which it was
held by the public; and hence, if the bill was ~~se~~ good eq
it was worth the sum it represented; and from t
principle it may be proved where the value of any
ub Stamine called money has its ~~value~~ standard.

~~Science being founded on the laws of nature is fu~~
~~not, and therefore we are to look for no variation~~
~~when it is perfectly understood; there is in the nature [illegible] the~~
~~same [illegible] as many every day, & and astronomy is~~
~~not essentially different. The modes of calculation~~
~~have been introduced into the former [illegible]~~
~~[illegible] made in the latter~~

2. ~~The~~ Scientific Improvements.

Science being founded on the immutable laws instance, we are to look for no variations in ~~their~~ its principles. New arrangements and new nomenclature may be introduced, yet ~~the~~ principles remain the same; and this, in many instances, has taken place since my recollection. Thus in mathematics, new modes of calculation are seen, the analytical methods, extensively introduced ~~and~~ the principles extended, and the solution of intricate problems rendered less tedious.

In Astronomy new Planets and satellites have been discovered, new and more accurate instruments invented, more correct ~~accurate~~ tables constructed, and new formulae given for calculations. But the fundamental principles laid down by Newton remain unchanged. In my early days we had a few men who calculated & published Almanacs; but the science of Astronomy was confined principally to professors in Colleges; and a good treatise on the ~~science~~ branch of knowledge, was a rarity in private libraries; : the sight of an astronomical instrument, absolutely a phenomenon in our country towns.

The Franklinian system of Electricity, ~~and~~ the demonstration of the identity of lightning & the electric fluid, was known before my day; but many new principles have been since discovered, ~~and~~ new theories advanced & the science much extended. The

The theories of magnetism, always considered as very di
ficult, have been subjected to much investigation and ex
periment; but to this day they remain unsettled. Som
plausible theories have been advanced for explaining
the variation of the magnetic needle, from the effects
terrestrial movable poles. But the recent Electroma
netical discoveries seem to render it probable
that the ~~whole~~ science is yet in its infancy.

In Optics the Newtonian Doctrine in relation t
the prismatic colors remain sound; yet the disc
of the polarization of light and double refraction
indicate that something more ~~is~~ remains to be discovered. T
instruments of this science are now multiplied
and improved; and what profound discoveries
may yet be made in the heavens, by larger telescop
we can only conjecture. In my early days a telesc
in our schools, that would exhibit the satellites of
Jupiter, would have been been viewed as a pro
gy.

In Hydrostatics and Hydraulics, now included in
the term Hydrodynamics, and in Pneumatics, grea
improvements have been made particularly in the
machinery. These united with the Dynamical power

the lever, pulley, inclined plane & others, have produced a multiplicity of engines and machines unknown in my younger days: And if we have not yet acquired the art of flying and transmitting intelligence through the air, the inventions of Balloons & Telegraphs give ~~us~~ at least promise that we shall at length accomplish these objects.

Among the branches of knowledge so eagerly pursued by many at the present day ~~of late~~, is ~~that~~ of Botany. This in my early days was little known in this Country. John Bartram of Philadelphia under the patronage of some English Gentlemen, made ~~some~~ botanical excursions within the present limits of the United States, a short time before our Revolution, and the result of his researches was transmitted to England: his son William made southern excursions at a later period ~~after the death of his father~~. But in the northern states I have no recollection ~~that~~ any gentleman was distinguished for his knowledge in the science. The truth is the Linnaean system (perhaps the best) is so loaded with technical terms from the Latin and Greek, as to be repulsive to those who are not familiar with those languages. our knowledge of

of the names of plants was very limited. Some of
our old people had a sort of nomenclature, proba
borrowed from the Indians. The common name
of ~~[illegible]~~ trees and many plants were familiar; but
knew nothing of classes, orders, genera & species. ~~the~~
Nor were we better acquainted with the Linnaean
System of Zoology. Our animals had specific nam
without regard to classes and orders. At this day the
Linnaean System of six classes, it is said, will give wa
to that of Cuvier of ~~[illegible]~~ four as more simple & natur
In Ship building, it is believed, improvements
have been made; and navigation has been rend
more safe from the method of determining the Long
tude by Lunars, and chronometers time keepers; and the
compass more sure, by the application of Barlo
correcting plate. With good instruments and a
nautical Chronometers ships ~~will~~ now ~~[illegible]~~ cross the
ocean with a degree of safety unknown in form
times, and whether steam vessels can sail with
equal safety remains to be seen.

The discoveries that have been made in the Geog
phy of the Earth deserve notice. Since my recollecti

many points were but imperfectly ~~known~~ explored; many islands in the Pacific ocean, the Coast of New Holland, New Zealand, and the north west Coast of America remained but partially known ~~imperfectly, or wholly unknown~~.

From the voyages of Capt Cook, the first in 1768, and others since his time, these parts of the Earth have become ~~known~~ known and are described with a good degree of accuracy; and from the recent voyages of Parry & Ross and since over-land tours by the English, ~~the north~~ the Arctic regions of North America have become ~~known~~ familiar and Green-Land found to be separate from the Continent of America. Further knowledge of North America has been obtained ~~from~~ by exploring parties sent out by the United States Government; and except the interior of Africa and New Holland, ~~the~~ few large tracts of Country now remain unexplored; ~~the~~ and the recent ~~travels~~ tours of several enterprising travellers in Africa, have thrown much light upon the interior of that extensive region.

From these extended researches, ~~our~~ Geography has been much enriched; Improved maps & charts have been delineated - the Latitudes and Longitudes of places laid down, and

descriptions of the climates and products of many h
hitherto unknown, obtained: and now seated at ou
firesides we may traverse every part of the Globe in the
of the voyager and traveller; mixing with people of diff
countries, learning their ~~habits~~, manners & customs; and
sympathising in their misfortunes or admiring their happ
ness. In my young days ~~[illegible]~~ a voyage roun
the world was ~~[illegible]~~ looked at with astonishment, ~~[illegible]~~
~~and thought of~~ as ~~[illegible]~~ an undertaking almost beyond the power of
man; and I well recollect the sensations produced
on perusing the disastrous but ingeniously written voyage of Lord Ansons a
a ~~few~~ copy of which was now and then foun
in the meagre libraries of the times.

Chemistry. Since my ~~early~~ recollection this bran
of Philosophy has undergone almost an entire cha
Much have been written upon it and many of what w
were called science books, published detailing the
different systems; among which was Boerhaave's
4to works, which I perused in my youth, contain
as I thought a fund of useful information But tho
entertaining to a young ~~man~~ mind it did not fix man
clear principles in the mind: The terms used were
arbitrary and of course difficult to be remembered.

in chemical
works of a more scientific character followed. That of Dr Stahl a German embracing ~~on~~ what he called Phlogiston took the lead, and was supported by Dr Black, Mr Cavendish, Dr Priestly and some others until 1789, when the Elements of Chemistry ~~came~~ by Lavoisier came out in France. In this work the Stahlian theory of Phlogiston was repudiated, and a new nomenclature given, in which Lavoisier ~~he~~ was aided by Morveau, Bartholet and Fourcroy, able French Chemists. This work with a monthly journal, intitled The annales de Chimie, published in France, soon overthrew the phlogistic theory, and gained the ascendency. In England it has been somewhat modified by Sir Humphrey Davy, whose galvanic discoveries have given it ~~some~~ new features. This change of the system of Chemistry is so great, that it may with propriety be called a new science, and is now taught not only in our Colledges and Academies, but in many of our common schools, even without the useless apparatus which was once supposed to be necessary; and the old treatises are almost wholly laid aside, serving no other purpose than a history of the progress of the science through its incipient State. the

The importance of this wonderful science in its presen
state, can hardly be estimated; and did it come
within my design, I might dilate upon the gre
use it has been to many of the arts; and not
ly to the arts but to the habit il genius of investiga
"If a youth", says one, "has been taught to receive no
as true, but what is the result of experiment, he w
be in little danger of being led away by the insid
ous arts of sophistry, or of having his mind be
overwhelmed by fanaticism or superstition. The kn
ledge of facts is what he has been taught to este
em, no reasoning, however specious, will ever
induce him to receive as true what appears
incongruous, or cannot be recommended by
demonstration or analogy."

Akin to Chemistry are the sciences of Geo
gy and Mineralogy. of these science little was kno
in this Country in my younger days. And indeed,
sometimes heard of Theories of the Earth, by men
who were supposed to be learned, but these wh
sical hypotheses have now given way before
the scientific investigations of later times; [illegible]

was not until the celebrated Werner of Germany engaged in these studies that they received ~~a~~ systematic arrangements worthy of the name of science. At this time we have many who pursue these studies, and much knowledge has been obtained of the rock formations and minerals found on the surface, as well as at considerable depths, of the earth.

In my early days we have men among us, rather of the idle sort, who occasionally employed themselves in looking for the precious metals, in which ~~art~~ they pretended to some skill. The whimsical notion prevailed ~~that~~, that with what they called a mineral rod, or enchanted twig, metals below the surface of the earth, as well as money buried in it, might be discovered; and the riches supposed to have been deposited by the Pirate Kidd were sought with avidity along our largest rivers, even hundreds of miles from the sea coast. The present knowledge of Geology & mineralogy, has nearly eradicated such whimsical pretensions ~~notions~~; and men have now learned that to reap riches from the earth manuring and good husbandry cultivation are ~~a~~ surer methods, than by the mineral rock.

a new Science called *Galvanism* from its discover-
-vani an Italian, has been promulgated within a fe
years past. It seems to be connected with electricity
exhibits phenomena considerably different, in its sp
taneous discharges, and effects upon the nerves an
muscles of dead animals. With the *pile* or *batter*
contrived by M. Volta, repeated shocks are given
and no friction is necessary as in electricity. The inte
heat produced by this apparatus, has been applied t
experiment in chemistry with great effect, by t
Sir Humphrey Davy has made some new and impor
tant discoveries.

Another discovery [illegible] recently made, is *Vaccina-
tion* or inoculation with the Cow pox. Before this
covery the small pox was [illegible] a frequent and destr
tive disease, and great caution was used to prev
its spread over the country. I recollect when even th
news papers, received by Post from Boston, were hand
with caution, and sometimes fumigated with smok
to prevent the communication of the contagion. In
time of the revolution, war pest houses were provid
and the old method of inoculation practiced. But

otwithstanding all the precautions, many people died
of the ~~disease~~. terrible disease

Since my recollection great alterations have taken place in the practice of medicine and surgery. ~~according to my recollection~~, What was called the mathematical system was in repute, or if partly exploded, it had a considerable sway ~~in which~~ The human body ~~machine~~ was converted into a machine; the blood vessels were hydraulical engines and the laws by which they ~~th~~were governed were similar to those of hydrostatics. The writings of Boerhaave who was a supporter of this system, were in repute, and having access to a medical library of one of my connections, I frequently applied to the medical works of ~~Boerhaave~~ that eminent man, for instruction in mechanical philosophy.

Following this, was the system of Dr Hoffman and Dr Cullen; ~~then~~ followed that ~~system~~ of Dr Brown though of short duration; and afterward ~~then~~ that of Dr Darwin; but the latter was never extensively followed by our Physicians.

The practice of medicine at this time seems to be less trammeled with system than formerly, and our instructed

physicians, taking general knowledge for their gui
# without much adherence to the names of disea
vary their practice according to the habits and
constitution of their patients and other connecting c
circumstances. And I think, on the whole, ~~that~~ the scien
of medicine is on the march of improvement.

In surgery many cures are performed, which or
were considered beyond the reach of art, and these
keeps pace with medicine. Quackery still
-ists, and will continue till the people at larg
become ~~[illegible]~~ scientific; and whether this will
ever take place is very doubtful.

General Education. In this we are undoubtedly making pr
gress. In our colleges instruction is more diffuse ~~th~~
many new branches of science are introduced, ~~and~~ the
long and uninteresting study of the dead languages
held in less estimation in some
degree giving away for ~~the~~ modern ones, in which exist
magazines of ~~highly~~ improved arts and science are found,
and no longer are the musty books of Greece &
Rome relied on for information they never con
-tained. If the theologian still finds it useful to wa
through the ~~ancient~~ languages, to enable him to tran
late the sentiments, ~~and the [illegible] to pronounce them~~

~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible] scientific scholar take the more~~
~~[illegible] by the [illegible] of~~
~~modern philosophy.~~

let him pursue the study, provided he does not neglect other branches of knowledge, pertinent to his profession. If the Poet finds it necessary to peruse ancient poesy in its native languages, and to acquaint himself with ~~the~~ Grecian mythology to ~~[illegible]~~ collect machinery for his poesie, and is willing to remain simply a poet, let him adapt his studies to his profession; But let the scientific scholar take the more direct road to eminence, now graded, smoothed, and paved, by the skilful hand of modern philosophy

Academies. These have been introduced into the Country towns since my recollection; and as they afford a cheap mode of instruction in all the useful branches of practical knowledge, in which gentlemen may direct the course for their sons, they are justly deemed useful. There is however one evil attending education in these institutions; too many scholars suppose ~~one or~~ two, or three terms at an academy, is sufficient to give them all the instruction necessary in future life, while they have only entered the vestibule of the temple of knowledge. There is another which is chargeable to the government: too many academies have been grant the consequence is, that few, or none, can find sufficient support for the requisite teachers, ~~and~~ nor funds ~~to~~ procure the necessary apparatus for advanced studies.

Common Schools. These are now ~~formed~~ instituted in all of our towns, and in a government founded on the votes of the people are indispensable. Reading, writing & Arithmetic ~~a~~ are absolutely necessary for all the members of a Republic. Where an inclination for other studies is discovered, English grammar, Geography, and mensuration of superfices and solids may be added. If other higher branches are sought by those who cannot find the means of defraying the expenses of higher schools, they must be obtained by individual exertions, from Books and occasional instruction from men of science, if they can be found. That all should become eminently learned is not to be expected; but that all should be so far taught as to preserve the common

(E)

Social Libraries. The introduction of these into our towns & villages is of present [illegible] high importance. Companies of twenty or ~~thirty~~ or more members, by the annual payment of a small sum, say of two dollars, may within a few years, amass a valuable collection of Books; and by monthly exchanges, regulated by a few simple rules, afford all the information that is found in large libraries of individuals ~~[illegible]~~. The greatest difficulty attending these libraries is the want of a good selection of ~~Books~~ authors. In many towns the choice is left to the clergyman of the place, and if he be ~~[illegible] the liberality~~ contracted in his religious sentiments, he will select such as favor his particular views. All social Libraries should now have History, Voyages, travels, biography & ~~[illegible]~~ Geography; popular treatises on the most useful arts and sciences, including agriculture and political Economy. When the funds will ~~afford~~ allow it, a complete Encyclopaedia should be added as a Book of reference to general knowledge; but as these are expensive, smaller works under this title may be substituted; and let it be remembered that a Library without a work of this kind is very deficient. Novels and romances I leave out of the list. Plays and their are is of none worthy of perusal, ~~this~~ it is rare ~~one of twenty~~ ~~few~~. In general they give no useful principles in the the mind, and are apt to create a wild and false taste if not one that destroys all relish for substantial works. If they afford any useful instruction it is from the elegance of the style in which they are sometimes written, and by inducing those to read, who without them would not. But it generally happens that such can never be brought to relish works of solid science. The multiplication of these works in our country of late years, is no proof of the progress of useful knowledge; on the contrary ~~donors~~ ~~their multiplication~~ proves incontestably, that we are losing the masculine virtues, and becoming ~~so~~ effeminate ~~people~~ in our literature.

But though I would generally reject works of fiction I would admit into these Libraries ingenious works of fancy, particularly elegant poetry, and some other polite literature; but these works are not extremely useful for those who are deficient in the solid branches of knowledge. Like the trimmings & draping of a mask or portrait, they divert the mind from the main object.

To insure success to Library Companies it is of importance that they be composed of ~~persons~~ those who have ~~acquired~~ a taste for reading and good knowledge, and think a small annual sum ~~applied~~ bestowed for the purpose ~~purchase of books~~ is not lost. How many young men we see with fine twenty dollar watches in their pockets, who say they cannot afford to advance a small sum for a library. ~~One hundred and~~ Fifty volumes of Harper's family Library, a most excellent collection of knowledge, may now be ~~purchased~~ procured for a less sum than ~~the~~ the cost of such a watch. Some say they cannot read because their eyes are weak; others that they fall into a sleep when they have read a page or two. Generally the eyes of such are better than their taste, and their somnolency is overcome, when in company they listen to the tales of a traveller, verbally recited, whether they be fiction or realities, whether the language be intelligible or otherwise; and generally the stories are most admired when most mysterious.

Young men of the present day can hardly estimate all the advantages they possess over those of their fathers in the multiplication, variety & cheapness of books; and if any complain of a want of opportunity to acquire

acquire a due stock of useful knowledge, for all have their leisure hours, it must be from mental indolence rather than from a want of means.

The construction of Steam Engines, Canals, and Railways has introduced what may be called a new profession, ~~here~~ among us, under the name of Civil Engineering. This art or science, was for sometime confined to the military Academy established by the U. States Government at West-Point. But such ~~was~~ thus being the demand for this profession that many have turned their attention to the study of ~~the~~ its principles, and now find full employment. The necessary branches of their study, besides authorities, are Geometry, algebra, trigonometry, ~~drawing~~, ~~and~~ the principles of mechanics, surveying ~~and~~ levelling & charges. These well understood with ~~two~~ one or ~~three~~ two years of ~~experience~~ practice, are sufficient to enable a mechanical genius to enter upon the practice

~~Recently we hear much of Phrenology and animal mystery magnetism, and whether they have any foundation in the ~~laws~~ works of nature, remains to be determined. Phrenology, or as first called craniology, boasts of having ~~us~~ had such men many scientific men. It pretends to teach from the conformation of the human skull~~

Among other improvements, or perhaps I ~~may~~ might say, attempts to improve ~~our condition~~, are the various societies ~~that~~ have been instituted in this Country as well as Europe~~an countries~~ since my recollection. That the combined efforts of good and intelligent men, give a spring to improvements, I think will be generally admitted. ~~It~~ But it sometimes happens that ~~they~~ societies are instituted ~~for~~ party ~~motives~~ purposes, with a view to influence and carry forward ~~them~~ schemes of limited ~~notions~~ utility; and when this is the case they ~~generally~~ generally expire in a short time and injure the cause they were intended to promote. It is a great fault in some of ~~these~~ institutions ~~that~~ the members are often impelled by too much zeal & warmth of feelings, and ~~to~~ ~~attempt~~ censure those whose modes of thinking ~~do not correspond~~ are at variance with those of the ~~members~~ society. But this error ~~does~~ is not often found in ~~Scientific~~ those institutions for the promotion of arts, science & literature, ~~and pure abstract morality~~. In those ~~In these~~ heated imaginations and supercilious zeal, are out of place. Calm reflection, steady perseverance, experiment and close investigation, are sure to promote the objects of the institution; provided the members can find leisu hours which they are willing to spend in its service. In this Country the establishment of the Philosophical Soci of Philadelphia, and the Academy of ~~the~~ Arts and Scien in Massachusetts, have been the means of diffusing useful knowledge among the people. From the former we have had a considerable number of 4to volumes, which have given the society a respectable elevation in the scientific world. This society under a new modification still continues its publications, and sustains its character for usefulness.

Several respectable volumes of the transactions of the Massachusetts Academy, have ~~been~~ issued from the press in Boston. But from some circumstances which I I am unable to explain, few of them have been circulated among the people; nor have I been able to find them in our Bookstores in ~~that~~ City. During the life of ~~that~~ wonderful man, Dr Bowditch (Alas now no more.) ~~their~~ pages were enriched with matter, bearing the character of his sublime genius — honorable memorials of American Science.

(Deprived of the aid of this luminary ~~man~~, the society may fin a want of matter to sustain its former character. ~~we~~

We have, it is true, ~~some~~ learned men among us; but a great proportion of them confine their studies to polite literature ~~and~~ or jurisprudence: the latter, the great road to popularity, ~~and the observance~~ and the blind reverence of the people. who see few, or no charms in the mathematician, the astronomer ~~and~~ or natural Philosopher. ~~In~~ we have also Medical societies ~~are~~ all respectable & generally ([illegible]) Similar Societies have been established in Connecticut and New-York, and perhaps in some other States; but we hear little from them. If they are making progress they ~~are~~ seem to be obfuscated by the political fogs which shroud their atmospheres.

Historical Societies. These have been instituted in several of the States, and have collected much useful matter for historians. That at Boston has published about 30 Volumes of old papers, collected from various parts of New England; thrice as many ~~old papers~~ others of value are deposited in mouldering trunks in the garrets of private gentlemen, in many of the old towns, ~~it~~ is to be regretted ~~that~~ these societies are not multiplied, for the purpose of collecting and rescuing ~~them~~ ~~documents~~ papers from oblivion. These societies ~~though~~ ~~[illegible]~~ consist of a small number of active members would be of great utility; and ~~th~~ often be gratified with valuable papers they might discover.

Agricultural Societies. These are of recent date in this country, and it is believed have given a spring to ~~agri~~ agricultural improvements. But ~~they are~~, in our ~~the~~ State, ~~a~~ they are rather on ~~the~~ decline; not however from ~~their~~ non importance, but from their injudicious management. Premiums are often granted on superfluous articles of ~~little~~, or no utility, in families: and many on animals and machinery are ~~—~~ too much limited to the central location of the Society. Committees appointed by the Society to visit the farms within its limits, & authorized to grant premiums for improvements, in husbandry, in animals & machinery, and also for well conducted farms, would obviate many difficulties now found in the management of the societies. And perhaps, if the premiums were paid in the ~~the~~ best agricultural treatises, they would be preferable to money. This Committee might deliver lectures on agriculture in the several towns, or employ suitable persons for ~~that~~ service; ~~These~~ services to be paid for by Society.]

Several

Several other societies have been recently instituted; ~~established since my return~~ ~~constituting~~ all claiming to be for benevolent purposes. Among these are, missionary, peace, Colonization, anti-Slavery, temperance. Prison Discipline ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~, and several others not now recollected.

Different opinions are entertained respecting some of these societies; but perhaps it may be correct to say, all would be beneficial if wisely and prudently conducted.

The missionary Society has been successful in civilizing the natives of of several of the Islands in the Pacific ocean. Schools are there established and many of the natives taught to read, write, cipher and to transact the business of life. Domestic manufactures are introduced. Ship-building & navigation carried on; and in some instances printing presses are in operation, Churches have been built ~~and~~ Christian Worship ~~established~~, introduced and several Islands give promise ~~for~~ useful commercial intercourse with the nations of the civilized world. What a change in the condition of these people! In 1779 Capt. Cook discovered the Sandwich Islands, one of which was owyhee the largest in the group- on which he found numerous ~~natives~~ savage inhabitants Landing on the Island, an unfortunate dispute occurred

with the natives
which resulted in a hostile attack, in which the Captain
was barbarously murdered, his body hacked in pieces &
said to have been eaten by the cannibals. The Island
is now so far civilized as to render it an agreeable re
dence for refined people — who resort to it from
Europe and America. The Society Islands, anothe
group, one of which is Otaheite, are said to be equally
advanced in civilization.
Some late voyagers however represent the state of
society ~~as rather less~~ in those Islands as less improv
than the missionaries have represented, and that
Christianity has not had a very ameliorating
effect upon the natives. The missionaries are said to have exercised
an intolerance incompatible with enlightened Christian
ity, and to have, ~~with~~ by their influence over the na
tives, induced them to drive from some of the Island
Christian missionaries professing ~~for~~ sentiments differ
from ~~their~~ own. Conduct of a similar kind was
seen among the pilgrims of Massachusetts who first
settled N England; and if they were justifiable, so
are the Polynesian missionaries. But enlightened Christianity will
hardly cast a veil over the blind zeal of either.
Much is certainly due to the South Sea missionari

Can the advocates of such a *gloomy Theology* avow that it deprives ~~the~~ Deity of his benevolent attributes, and presents him as an arbitrary and vindictive Sovereign, permitting millions of the creatures of his own creation, to sink into interminable punishment, for being ~~being~~ born and placed, under his providence, beyond the reach of Revelation?

Very different, as it appears to me, was the opinion of St Paul, as expressed in his Letter to the Romans: "For when the Gentiles, which have ~~have~~ not the law, do by *nature* the things contained in the law, these ~~things~~ having not the law, are a law unto themselves: Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts" And again - "For until the law, sin was in the world: but sin is not *imputed* when there is no law"-

for their exertions in diffusing useful instruction among the natives. But it may be made a question whether they have presented Christianity to these rude people, in its most inviting aspect. Some of these missionaries we have reason to believe, have been shackled with religious dogmas that tend rather to darken, than to enlighten the mind. A late American missionary who made a tour over the rocky mountains to the mouth of the Columbia, and visited the Sandwich Islands ~~and~~ and his brethren on one of ~~the Islands in~~ that group, remarking upon the want of Christian enterprise in propagating the Gospel in heathen lands says. "It is not only to be lamented as a blot upon the Christian name; but incomparably more is it to be lamented that in consequence, *generation after generation* of the heathen, to say nothing of thousands who are trafficking among them, are left in their ignorance of the Savior, to perish *eternally*" ∠ That there should be a supineness among men of good sense in "carrying forward" ~~a~~ this missionary system ~~of religion which~~ containing a scheme so inconsistent with the benevolent attributes of ~~the~~ Deity, is not strange; and if any benefits have ~~can~~ be derived from missionaries of this class, ~~among the natives~~, it must be from the arts and sciences they impart to ~~their~~ nation, rather than their religious notions. ~~He from theology~~

On the best modes of carrying civilization among the rude nations who have been shut out from ~~the~~ intercourse with the improved nations of the world, I am aware that I ~~may~~ differ from many good men. ~~But~~ The plan I would follow would be, first to instruct them in the rudiments of education, as we do our young children at ~~their~~ first attendance ~~at~~ our schools at the same time, when it ~~was~~ should be found ~~they possess~~ that they ~~were~~ are capable of receiving instruction in the plain principles of morality I would enforce them. When they become sufficiently enlightened to think for themselves, ~~the~~ proofs of the existence of the ~~Deity~~ God, as manifested in his works, should be presented to ~~them~~. Having been taught this fundamental truth, ~~Christianity~~ accompanied with ~~the~~ useful arts & sciences, Christianity might next be opened to them ~~now~~, but in its most simple form, divested of its mysterious dogmas and corruptions.

That plan which begins with religion, will have little effect in the civilization of a savage people. without previous rudimental instruction, they will as readily receive Mahometanism as Christianity: both

~~would be~~ are equally incomprehensible to their minds. The truth is a _rational scheme of religion_ cannot be introduced among a people, who have never been taught to reason. They may indeed present a show of the religion which has been ~~taught~~ urged upon them, but their conviction of its truth, depends almost entirely on the _ipse dixit_ of their teachers; and will be abandoned for another, whenever it shall be enforced by men in whom they have confidence. I have dwelt ~~at some length~~ thus on this subject, because I think it of some importance, as regards ~~to~~ the efforts now making, to civilize the rude sons of nature, spread over our western country and other parts of the world. Before I quit the Islands in the Pacific ocean, permit me to call your attention to the curious history of the settlement of _Pitcairn's Island_, by the mutineers of Capt Bligh's ship the Bounty. The ~~account~~ history may be familiar to most of you. But if any have not seen the pleasing history, let me point them to it, in one of the Volumes of Harpers family Library, and also as inserted in ~~a~~ Beechy's late voyage to the north west coast of America & round the world

of

of the Peace Society, instituted for the noble purpose of abolishing war between civilized nations, and for deciding disputes between them, by a sort of arbitration we hear little. Its still small voice seems to be silenced by the angry vociferations of political parties. Let us hope th more favorable times, will render it audible; and teach mankind the folly as well as the horrors of war. Man believe that any attempts of this kind would ~~will~~ be futile. Thi may be so. But let us try a ~~fair~~ experiment - a failure will produce no evil.

On ~~the~~ American Colonization Society, the following re marks offer for consideration. If it be the objec of the Society to form a settlement on the Coast of Africa for the purpose of civilizing the natives, th plan meets my best wishes. But if it is intended as many believe, to silence opposition to slavery in the United States, by holding out to the people, that the transportation of the free blacks by the society will ultimately effect an emancipation, I consider it as an imposition of the vilest character, and to which the philanthropist will not for a moment gi his support. The Society has formed a settlement named Monrovia at Cape Mesurado on the Coast of Africa about ~~the~~ eight degrees north Latitude; and what are its present prospects I am not informed.

The *anti-Slavery society* has caused much excitement in ~~the~~ United States, and whether it has been conducted with prudence I am not certain. Its design it must be admitted is benevolent; its operations may have been indiscreet. ~~But~~ The lawless mobs ~~that~~ have assembled to put down the ~~society~~ institution ought to receive the decided condemnation of every patriot. As I shall touch upon the subject of slavery in my closing address, I shall waive further remarks in this place.

The *temperance society* ~~now~~ engrosses much of the attention of the people of Massachusetts at this time. Its design to prevent an excessive use of ardent spirits is laudable, and no temperate man will oppose it, so long as *this* is its object. But when it attempts to inforce ~~a~~ total abstinence, and through its influence enacts laws for ~~that~~ purpose, it will meet with opposition. Many who have been in the *moderate* use of ardent spirits, will continue to use them; and any measure to *force* total abstinence in such, cannot succeed. Could our petty *grog-shops* be legally suppressed, many perhaps but the confirmed tippler would complain

Much has been written on the subject, and considerable ingenuity displayed on both sides; but neither is convinced. A continuation of the contest will operate unfavorably on our popular elections, and perhaps produce evils little, if any, short of an abuse of ardent spirits. Enough is already found ~~among~~ political combustibles, to kindle passions into a flame. Let us not then add to them. When any member of the community shall indulge in eating ~~[illegible]~~ drinking or extravagant ruinous expense, to his injury, let him be punished with the frowns of public opinion. If he attempts to injure others, let him suffer the punishment of the laws enacted for the protection of our rights. These it appears to me, are the only remedies ~~that~~ can be applied to check the evil in a Country, where ~~all~~ are free to vote according to their volitions.

I might extend my remarks to other societies of which we have many and I believe more or less useful. One however I think is still wanting. I mean a Society for the diffusion of useful knowledge; to embrace all subjects of practical use. In England such a society exists, and is composed of a large number of the most eminent men in the ~~[illegible]~~ nation. This

plan is a good model for us, and such a Society
would be of the highest importance to the people
~~at large~~ of this Country.
The mode adopted by the English society, for com
municating knowledge to the people is the publication
of cheap pamphlets at short periods, containing treatis
es on the most useful subjects, all written in a style
addapted to the common people. The Greek and
Latin technicals, when they occur, are generally ~~fully~~
explained. The pamphlets have been sold in this county
at the low price of 12½ cents, and contain numerous
wood cuts, elucidating the various subjects imbraced
in them. Several hundred must have been printed
before ~~at~~ this time, and when completed, they will form
a cheap Encyclopaedia of the most useful matter.
The work is intitled a Library of useful know
ledge, and truly it is so. The first 72 numbers
I have purchased at the small sum ~~price~~, of $9.36. and
I consider them invaluable.
With this ~~such~~ ~~a~~ mass of knowledge in the hands of the
people, science would no longer remain a mystery
in the closets of the favored few, nor the honest
heart of community led astray, by the artful prea
[illegible]

tended to occult philosophy.

I shall now proceed to a brief examination of two subjects, (or sciences, if they deserve that name) which have made considerable noise in the ~~scientific~~ world, within a few years past. Whether like the old predictions of astrology, by which the fortune and fate of men were predicted ~~by~~ from the places of the planets in the Zodiac, and the positions of the constellations in the heavens, they will continue to amuse the world for a time, and then sink into oblivion, or find a permanent place among the physical sciences, time will determine. I allude to the subjects of Phrenology and Animal Magnetism.

Phrenology, or as it was first, called Craniology, boasts of having had for ~~fr~~ its support, ~~many~~ some scientific men. It commenced in Germany, and was first claimed as a science by Dr Gall, a physician of considerable abilities, in the early part of his life. In the first essays in this science, the heads of animals were collected and examined, by him & several others ~~men~~, and pains taken to ascertain what was named the facial angle of the skulls. This angle is formed by a line drawn horizontally, from the back part of the scull; touching the extremity of the nose

nose, or the opening of the nostrils, and another line extending upwards from that point, to the most prominent part of the fore~~head~~head. The angle was found to be ~~different in~~ different animals, varying from 20 to 80, or 90 or more degrees. As the angle ~~in~~ the skull of man was found to be larger than in ~~that~~ of other animals, it was believed ~~that~~ the mental faculties were indicated by the ~~by the~~ quantity of the angle. This probably gave a clue to to the scheme of Dr. Gall, and he proceeded to an examination of the protuberances ~~of skull~~ or bumps of the skulls ~~of the skulls~~ of men, and ~~thus~~ on them formed his system. From this conformation of the skull it pretends to ~~teach~~ develope the characters and propensities of men, whose heads are submitted to its manipulations. The head is marked off into compartments, like the map of a country, though without any very definite boundaries of hills & valleys, states or towns; and the protuberances found ~~in~~ on them are the indices of the brain. The ~~Divisions~~ compartments of the skull have obtained specific names according to the latest system 40 in number - 20 of moral and 20 of intellectual powers; the names indicate the quality of the bumps, or the functions of the brain lying under them; as we insert on our maps the quality of the Lands understood ~~by~~ them. To ~~some~~ one thing I give credit to the projectors of the scheme;- they have given English names to the compartments, instead of those of Greek and Latin, as is very common with the learned writers of science, at the present day. Thus stands the machine of Phrenology as I understand it. (Illust the)

~~the characters and propensities of men. The head is marked off into compartments, like the map of a Country and certain prominences of the parts enable the phrenologists to determine the character of the person whose head is submitted to their manipulations.~~

That the scheme is founded on physical laws, to the extent it is now pretended, by strolling & itinerant Lecturers, admits of great doubt, ~~and~~ It may have originated in the fertile imagination of some of our utopean philosophers, who pride themselves in advancing some thing that is novel.

A well formed skull, or in other words, a healthy one of the size & shape common to man, may indicate a sound intellect, other parts of the body being in like circumstances. But that a protuberance in any one part of the skull should indicate, for instance, mathematical powers, while ~~in others~~ the lack of that bump ~~should~~ shew the reverse; in another part indications of Courage and a ~~want of~~ corresponding cowardice; and the same in regard to other faculties, requires for belief, more credulity than any bump in my head contains.

Moreover it is pretended that a large cranium indicates strong powers of mind, and a small one the contrary; as if the sum of the reasoning faculties depended on the magnitude of the brain.

Before these pretensions can be established ~~as truth~~ it is necessary that the skulls of those who have been remarkable for any particular mental faculty, sh be exhibited, and their identity proved; and if it be found that these faculties invariably corresp ~~give~~ ~~with~~ the protuberances, we might be induced to gi ive some credit ~~to~~ the hypothesis; and this [illegible] the phre ~~[illegible]~~ nologists ~~[illegible]~~ pretend they can show.

That the mind has its seat in the brain is pretty well ascertained; but that any particular section of ~~the brain~~ should be the seat of one faculty, and an other of a different one; and that they can act independently of each other, is an assumption that wants proof. When the mathematician is demonstrating ~~[illegible]~~ an intricate ~~[illegible]~~ theorem, is it to be supposed th one part of the brain is active, while the other part are dormant? If this be the fact, then human pursue different investigations at the same time which I think will hardly be granted by any who have been much in the habit of deep investigation.

Is it not more rational to say, ~~that~~ when the mind is deeply engaged on any subject, the whole of the brain is ~~quite~~ active, rather than a part?

As it respects the propensities of men, it is highly proba-
ble than ...

(4). On the phrenological maps, I have inspected, the 40 compartments are marked off on one hemisphere of the head, which is separated from the other by a plane passing through

on the people, which now rests in the tomb of oblivion. To the names of great men I would give due weight; but to no one ~~would~~ will I yield against ~~high~~ probability.

I might have adduce proofs against the hypothesis, from the consideration, ~~that it~~ militates with the free agency of man & ~~the~~ progressive improvement, and renders ~~them~~ machines, that move without ~~their~~ volitions; and bind them down to mechanical ~~action~~, or at any rate, to mere instinctive ~~motions~~ movements, as we suppose is ~~the~~ case with some of the brute creation. But I apprehend I should trespass to much upon your patience. But &c.

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(4).

On the phrenological maps, I have inspected, the 40 compartments are marked off on one hemisphere of the [illegible] head, which is separated from the other by a plane passing through the ridge of the nose and the extreme convexity of the skull behind; on the half of the forehead eight are delineated, and of course 16 on the whole forehead; and the ~~whole~~ skull must contain 80. Now do the compartments on the two hemisphere indicate the same faculties, or sometimes those of an opposite character? In this case, like positive and negative quantities in Algebra of equal value, do they reduce the sum to nothing? But *do* the compartments of the two hemispheres always present like developments? Is it not sometimes the case that one compartment presents a protuberance, while another in the same position, on the opposite hemisphere presents none at all? Which then is to be taken as ~~the~~ Standard

The protuberances that are pretended to be found on the head, are not very easily perceived; and I think one must be very strongly impressed with the belief of the truth of the hypothesis, to point out their boundaries. Let any one of the uninitiated, pass his hand over the head of another, and he will soon be convinced, ~~that~~ if the 40, or even 20 of the protuberances exist, his acuteness of touch, be it ever so nice, will not detect them; and if a naked skull be presented for inspection, I think a nice process with a levelling instrument would be required to dis

over the protuberances. — It has been objected to Phreno-
logy that it supposes in some cases, protuberances on those
parts, under which there is no brain; as in the eye
and on the nose, and ~~that~~ the surface of the head
is often a uniform and regular curve presenting
no index. In looking over the map of the head
as delineated by phrenologist, I find the compart-
ments numbered, and turning to the explanation
I find, for example, Destructiveness, Constructiveness
Concentrativeness, Combativeness, Ideality &c
with their explanations. But what proof have
we, but the bare *ipse dixit* of the advocates of
the system, that the explanations are to be
relyed on. We shall be told, they are men who
have examined the subject, and therefore must
understand it. So had the old astrologers examined
the mouldy system they endeavored to impose
on the people, which now rests in the tomb of
oblivion. To the names of great men I would give
due weight; but to no one ~~would~~ will I yield a point
against ~~high~~ probability.

I might have adduced proofs against the hypothesis
from the consideration, that it militates with the
free agency of man & the progressive improvement and renders ~~them~~ machines, that
move without ~~their~~ volitions; and bind them
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suppose is ~~the~~ case with some of the brute
creation. But I apprehend I should trespass
too much upon your patience. — But admit

have been much in the habit of deep investigation.
Is it not more rational to say that when the mind
is deeply engaged on any subject, the whole of the brain
is ~~[illegible]~~ active, rather than a part.?
As it respects the propensities of men, it is highly proba-
ble they are produced by accidental circumstances. If a
young man's attention be turned to music and poe-
try, he will acquire a taste for them; if to mathe-
matics and natural philosophy his taste will acquire
that bent; and so of other branches ~~of knowledge~~ he may pursue.
If Sir Isaac Newton in his early days, exhibited an
attachment to mechanical and scientific knowledge; it
was probably owing to a healthy brain, and some
circumstances that led him to pursue them; and I
very much doubt whether any phrenological protu-
berances could have been found in his cranium
that dictated his studies.—(A)

But admitting that the scheme of phrenology is based
physical laws, what is its practical use? The formation
that
skull is the work of nature, and we cannot materially
alter it, or ~~shape~~ raise the desirable bumps; An ill formed
skull will not change at our desire;—a man of small mind
al ~~[illegible]~~ developements can never become a great one; in

in other words, men must remain as they were born unless education or some other means change their condition, and I know not that phrenologists hold this as practicable.

Will it be said that the scheme affords means of determining the studies and employments proper for our children, or those by which we may choose our friends and domestics ~~servants~~? Before we put a pupil to scho shall we submit his head to the manipulations of a phrenologist, to determine what course of studie he may pursue with a probability of success? Or, when the bumps are unfavorable, shall we leave our child to the menial drudgery of life, impressed with the belief ~~that~~ he was created solely for ~~the~~ such employments? — Than which a stronger ~~better~~ argument could not be found in support of slavery.

On the whole, setting aside the names of Gall, Spurzheim, Combe, and a few other great ones ~~names~~ found in favo of the scheme, I should pronounce it ~~entirely~~ visionary

~~The occult pretensions ~~phenomena~~ of Animal magnetism seem less entitled to credit. In this it is said ~~pretended~~ that a person (a female is generally selected) in a deep sleep under the effect of what the operators call magnetism~~

in every planet. (see Edinburg Rev for 1842)

The mystical scheme of Animal Magnetism seems less entitled to credit than phrenology. It was first brought into public notice by Dr Mesmer of Germany, a country remarkable for occult Philosophy, and ~~was~~ he ~~[illegible]~~ carried it to France about 1780. where it was supposed the credulity of that versatile people would favor it. Nor was Mesmer disappointed, for it soon made ~~great~~ progress and ~~made~~ produced a great effect upon the public mind. Besides its wonders, it pretended to cure diseases of various kinds. At length application was made to the French Court to suppress the Empiricism, which resulted in the appointment of eight Commissioners, five of whom were of the Academy of Science, among whom was our Dr Franklin, who was then in France. The Commissioners after a long and critical examination of all the experiments exhibited before them made an able report to government in which they declared their belief that the whole of the operations were ~~the effect of~~ referable to the influence of the imagination.

M. Bailly one of the Commissioners, afterwards delivered his opinion on the subject to the Academy of Sciences, in the form of an address. It concludes as follows. "Man possesses the power of acting upon his fellow creatures by agitating their nerves, and of even throwing them into convulsio but this action is not to be considered as of a physica nature. We cannot perceive that it depends upon any communicated fluid; but it appears to be entire of a moral nature, and to operate through the medium of the imagination. It is an action which is almost always productive of dangerous consequences, which can never be admitted into philosophy, and which it is useful to be acquainted with, merely for the purpose of being able to guard again its effects. Magnetism will not, however, be withou its advantages to that philosophy which condemns it, as it furnishes us with an additional fact in the history of the errors of the human mind, and exhibits a most interesting example of the power of the imagination

This proceeding of the French Government nearly cured the mania in that Country for a time; but within a few years it has there revived, and its missionaries are now found in our Cities and inland villages exhibiting its wonderful operations. It pretends to magnetize a person (a female is generally selected) who ~~is put~~ falls into a deep slu

and
by a sort of ubiquity, can answer questions put by the operator; and many have been so deeply deceived ~~as~~ by these exhibitions, as to believe ~~they were~~ them realities, and have written and published their wonderful accounts

Dr Poyen, a french gentleman now lecturing on the art in this Country, defines it in the following language. "Animal magnetism or Psycho-dynamy, is the influence that one person can exercise over another through the agency of the vital principle, put into activity by the will, and a series of manipulations called passes." and he ~~says~~ adds "The means to magnetize, are therefore, of a two fold nature;- viz. mental or spiritual; physical or manual."

As phenomena so singular require some theory ~~[illegible]~~ to explain them, ~~Dr~~ Poyen advances the following hypothesis. viz. "It is a fact well established by the daily observation of all magnetizers, both in Europe and America, that from the moment a person is put into somnambulism, he becomes capable of appreciating correctly and seizing the thoughts, the will and feelings, not only

of his magnetizer, but also of those who are put
in close communication with him. This surprising
and very interesting mode of knowledge is doubtless
imparted to the somnambulist through an ema
nation of some kind, which springs from the brain
of the two parties and thus forms about them a pecu
atmosphere, the fluctuations or movements of whi
vary according to the direction given by the organ
from which the fluid originates. The brain of the
magnetizer or of the person placed in communication
is the active instrument or apparatus, every ope
of which necessarily impresses a new movement and
direction to the fluid, which movement is more
or less clearly felt by the corresponding analogous orga
viz. the brain of the somnambulist, and thus create
herein the same modifications as those which exist
in the organ of the other party. Such modifications co
stitute what we call thought, reasoning &c.

To justify this hypothesis ~~Mr Bryan~~ The Dr quotes the opin
of Dr Rostan, a writer ~~of~~ on animal magnetism, as follows
"The *active* nervous atmosphere of the magnetizer min
with the passive nervous atmosphere of the magnetized

this one is, thereby, influenced in such a manner hat his power of attention is momentarily abolished; nd both: the impressions which he receives inwardly me those which are transmitted to him by the magnetizer, esort to his brain through another channels."

"The nervous agent possesses, like caloric, the faculty f penetrating through solid bodies; a faculty which is, doubtless, limited; but can satisfactorily experim trace somnambulists, may be influenced through partitions, walls, doors &c. Also it accounts for their perception of the savorous and odorous matters, through certain bodies, which in the Natural state cannot be penetrated by those particles. The innumerable facts which prove in an indisputable manner that the magnetic action can be exercised through solid bodies, and that the presence of those bodies does not prevent Clairvoyance + compel us to admit ~~that~~ the nervous or magnetical agent must pass through them. This is no more astonishing than, thus light passes through diaphane or transparent substances, lectricity passing through the conductive bodies and caloric penetrating all sorts of bodies. The mingling of the two nervou

"Clairvoyance, is the power of seeing, the eyes remaining atmospheres affords a very clear explanation of the communication of the wish and will, even of the thou of the magnetizer to the magnetized person. The wish & the will being actions of the brain, this organ transmits them to the circumference of the body through the chan-nel of the nerves, and when the two nervous atmos-pheres happen to meet each other, they are so mu identified as to form but one; both individuals be-come one only; they feel and think together; but one of them (the somnambulist) is constantly under the depend-ence of the other, while in the magnetic state." Thus Dr Rostan, as quoted in the letter of ~~M~~ Payen to Col. Stone.

Here then we have a thinking fluid or atmosphe surrounding human beings, which when brought into juxtapo-sition, mixes with and communicates thoughts from one to another. ~~It~~ is in fact a sixth sense, which our metaphysicians & physiologists have hitherto overlooked. The advocates of of this magnetism (~~which by the way might have had [illegible]~~) do not pretend ~~that~~ it is miraculous, but that it operates ~~is [illegible]~~ by a law of nature ~~hitherto~~ unknown ~~before it was discovered by Dr Mesmer.~~

~~Of the laws of nature we are far from a complete clear knowledge; [illegible] necessary when a stone is projected into the atmosphere~~

Before I proceed to the examination of the operations of this *animal* magnetism I shall make a few remarks upon ~~this~~ its imposing name. ~~Magnet~~ The word *magnet* is said, ~~by ancient writers~~, to be derived from the name of a shepherd, by whom it is supposed to have been discovered. It is a property peculiar to ferruginous bodies, and a few other metals allied to them; and for convenience is called a fluid. In the magnet this fluid is supposed to be concentrated, or accumulated, in some part of it, like that of electricity in a non-conductor, and therefore that by thus destroying the equilibrium of the fluid, efforts are exerted to restore it, and hence proceeds *magnetic attraction*. Be this as it may, it is well ascertained that this fluid is confined to iron, and a few other similar bodies. Tell me not then, ~~that~~ this fluid is concentrated in *animal bodies*, or even that of electricity without insulation. But magnetism being rather mysterious its phenomena, the projectors of Animal Magnetism probably thought, ~~that~~ by adopting that name it would more easily obtain currency among the credulous. To the claim of the projectors of the scheme, to the discovery of a new Law of nature I have no very strong objection. All the laws of nature on their first discovery, were new to men, such as those of gravity, electricity, magnetism, Chemistry, animal life and numerous others, which the ingenuity & researches of ingenious men have brought to light.

But in cases of claims to ~~such~~ new discoveries, great caution should be used to prevent impositio We indeed know little of the ~~of the~~ essence of the laws. We talk familiarly of the law of gravitation, but know not what it is, we see only its effects. A stone projected into the atmosphere falls back to the earth, and as ~~this~~ universal experience shows that this has been so, during the existence of man, we call it a law, and so of the other laws of nature. But if ~~any~~ one, however credible should ~~affirm~~ assert ~~that~~ he saw a stone ~~thus~~ suspended in the air without any thing to support it, we should disbelieve him; for we sh say, it ~~was~~ is more probable ~~that~~ he was deceived himself, meant to deceive, or ~~that~~ he was derang

This universal experience, it appears to me is sufficient to establish a violation of what we call a law of nature. I do not say that the testimony of a large number of credible witnesses, to the same fact, where ~~was~~ I am sure there was no collusion, is insufficient to produce belief; but ~~that~~ this evidence would not be demonstration; it would be only probability, and ~~as~~ might be less strong than the evidence of universal experience to the contrary. And it is a question whether any human testimony however strong, to an appearance like that, mentioned above, could remove all doubt from the mind. Belief and absolute knowledge are different things. One may believe a thing to be *so*, and *so*, and yet be in error: but ~~this~~ is not the case with demonstrations in mathematical propositions, when understood; and no human testimony whatever, would create ~~a~~ doubt in the mathematician's mind of ~~the~~ truth of propositions thus demonstrated

This cautious mode, in assenting to new & mystical things, is important, and if followed would free us from the impositions often palmed upon us, by artful pretenders to new discoveries. With

With these purposes ~~phenomena~~ in view I proceed to a brief examination of some of the ~~substantial~~ facts said to have been recently exhibited by Dr Poyen and Mrs G. in this part of our State, as given in the Greenfield Gazette & Mercury. June 1st at Northampton. The people having assembled in a hall Dr Poyen requested Mr A to put Mrs G. into the magnetic sleep. Mr A had once and only once before effected this. Mr B & C then wrote on a piece of paper Cause her ~~to~~ by a mental effort only, to open her eys - to close ~~them~~ again - to lift her hand to her shoulder. Mr A took his seat before Mrs G. & with his mouth closed & lips compressed, without any visible sign or motion, willed her to open her eys. It was done. To shut them again - it was done. To lift her hand to ~~the~~ her shoulder - it was done. Again - willed her to put her hand on ~~the~~ top of her head. Mr A willed it and it was done, and other things of a similar kind were performed.

During the process, it is said, Dr Poyen was in a remote part of the room, and did not see any of the questions written, or the slips of paper put into the hands of Mr A. At Greenfield ~~-~~ six persons were examin and other operations performed similar to those at Northampton. One of these sick persons whom ~~I have~~ lately examined fro whom I have the following statement. Dr Poyen, Mrs G and several others, came to the house where the sick person resided & took a room, and Mrs G was put to sleep magnetically

The patient then entered the room and was seated near Mrs. G. then sitting in a Chair apparently in a sleep. Dr Poyen in the opposite corner of the room said to Mrs G. we have a patient for you to examine. The patient was then directed to place one hand upon Mrs Gs. which done Mrs G. took her by the wrist and said you have no pulse; then felt the other wrist and said the pulse is better. She then felt the patients shoulders breast &c and made several remarks, turning her head occasionally as any other person while awake. She then felt about the region of the liver and declared the liver bad. She next inquired of the patient whether she would not choose ~~that~~ the males should retire befor she proceeded. This the patient submitted to Mrs G.

Another examination was then made. At length Mrs G became sick at the stomach, and a window was raised for fresh air. The manipulations were th continued for some time, during which Mrs G was full of conversation. Dr Payen having returned into the room gave Mrs G some magnetic water on which she woke from her sleep.

In ~~the~~ examination Mrs G. pointed out some of the difficulties the patient labored under, and others that she did not; once ~~gave~~ directed a prescription to Dr Payen, which was to be sent ~~to the~~ patient, which was done, however with some variation from Mrs G's prescription.

Now it is pretended by the magnetizers that Mrs G was in a deep sleep during all these operations. What proof have we of this? There was no appearance indicating it, excepting the closing of the eyes, and the declaration of ~~the~~ Mrs G.— When we see a ~~person~~ one in the attitude of sleep, with no voluntary motions, but all calm, we may indeed believe ~~suppose~~ ~~that~~ the person is in a sleep. But what stronger proof need we that the person is awake than to see him use his hands, move his head, and talk at the same time, like other people, by their voluntary functions. In a deep sleep can a person do this. That Mrs G was in a sleep during the examination of her patient we have her declaration; but who can believe her? 91

It is said the discharge of a pistol near, will not wake the somnambulist. This to me is rather a proof of that ~~she~~ the patient, is not asleep. When I shall be satisfied she does not hear the report, I may suspect she is in in a sleep, but not before.

In all the operations on the patient at Greenfield nothing appears that might not have been perform by any two active and artful persons.

It is said that Mrs G. was not previously inform that she was to examine a sick person. Be it so. Yet Dr Poyen informed her the moment the invalid entered the room, that a patient was to be examined; and it is natural to suppose Mrs G saw her, by a small opening of her eye, imperceptible to the spectators.

To close this part of the case, I ask, which is the mos probable, that Mrs G was awake, and knew all she was about, or that she was in a profound sleep? In the one case, an unaccountable phenomenon, in the other, one, that is easy, natural and within the reach of art. Wise men, I think will not hesitate in the solution.

In the operations at Northampton the following queries present themselves: 1st Is it certain that M

A did not, by some hidden sign, communicate to Mrs G. what was required of her? 2 If Mr A made no sign to Mrs G. is it certain ~~that~~ he did not make one to Dr Poyen in the remote part of the room, and by him was communicated to Mrs G? 3. Difficult as it may be to conceive how signals or signs, other nature could be made to Mrs G.- is it not more likely they were made, than that Mr A's mental commands should be communicated to Mrs G, by some mysterious fluid of Dr Poyen's hypothesis, and understood by her; and 4th. Is it not more ~~that~~ probable ~~that~~ the person who penned the account given of the performances, ~~these~~ misconceived, than that the things he relates actually occurred?

I have witnessed performances in slight of hand, which appeared not less mysterious than some of Dr Poyen's, which I should have been ready to have sworn to, in a Court of Justice, had I not been satisfied they were contrary to the laws of ~~the undoubted~~ nature. This I think is a correct rule in such cases, and I ~~should~~ apply it without hesitation, to the performances of Dr Poyen

It is since the discharge

it falls to the earth by the power of gravity; but what gravity is we know not. Correctly speaking when we say the stone falls by a law of nature, we mean that universal experience has shown that it will so fall; and hence we say, if the stone remains suspended in the atmosphere without any apparent cause, that the law is suspended or ceases to act. This universal experience, it appears to me, is sufficient to establish what we call a law of nature; and should a witness, however credible, assert that he saw a stone thus suspended, I should not believe him, because it ~~is~~ would be more probable that he was under a mistake, was deranged, or that he meant to deceive me. I do not say that the testimony of a large number of credible witnesses to the same fact, *where I was satisfied there was no collusion*, is insufficient to produce belief; but this belief, after all, would not be demonstration, it would be only probability, and might be less strong than the evidence of universal experience to the contrary. And it is a question whether any *human* testimony, however strong, to facts like the above, could ~~remain~~ remove all doubt from the mind. Belief and absolute knowledge are different things. We may *believe* a thing to be so and so, and yet be in an error; but absolute knowledge

~~such, for instance, as the angles of a triangle are equal to two right angles, as seen in the demonstration of that proposition in a mathematical process, is not a mere belief, but absolute certainty, which none who understand the process can doubt; and no human testimony whatever, would create one doubt in the mathematician's mind. How~~

In the exhibitions of animal magnetism it is important that the spectator should fortify his mind against the effects of imagination. If he is well ~~fortified~~ grounded in the principles of natural philosophy;- believes that every effect has its cause; that the laws of nature are immutable, and that man cannot perform miracles, he will not easily be led away by artful, stupendous or uncommon appearances. He will say that however singular the exhibition, the probability of deception is greater than that the appearances should be real.

If these ~~sentiments~~ ~~positions as are~~ positions, opinions we denominate unreasonable scepticism I set them against a credulity which prostrates every principle of reason,- leaves us to wander in the dark without one ray of light, and sinks us below the intelligence of the brute creation. With

of an extraordinary nature
Deceptions (and I hesitate not to call them so) have been played off upon the people of all populous nations. They have been seen in China - on the Ganges - on the Nile; - in Greece, Rome, modern Italy and other nations of Europe, and even among the Indians of America. But in enlightened nations they generally disappear before the sun of science, ~~whenever it~~ when it ~~they~~ shines with ~~unclouded~~ ~~lustre~~ full lustre; and I trust the light will never be eclipsed by the interposition of a dark and occult philosophy, that has its origin in the imagination of artful or ~~enthusiastic~~ credulous men. Let us then pursue the plain path marked out by the unerring hand of nature, and we shall avoid the labyrinths of ~~the~~ dancing ignis fatuus, into which we are often led when we steer at random. —— ——

After ~~the~~ sketch I have given ~~of the~~ progress of the arts and sciences (~~in this country~~) since the war of the Revolution, it would be unwise to say our stock of knowledge has not increased. True it is, before ~~that~~ period we had made some progress, in ~~the~~ higher branches of science, and had amongst us men of no mean attainments; - ~~We have~~ A Franklin in Physics,
and

& a Rittenhouse in Astronomy, had ~~who~~ given us ~~sustained~~ a respectable station among the philosophers of Europe. And I might now present a host of worthies in many branches of the arts and sciences, who, if they hav not attained the pinnacle of some of their fellow work in Europe, have gained commanding elevations; and no reason can be assigned why they may not within a few years, equal them in all branches however elevated. In Europe the stock of written science, which has been accumulating for ages, exceeds ours; but if we have the wisdom to impart, and add it to our own, we shall at length possess ~~an~~ equal stock. Let us hope, and endeavour, to excell them in the useful

If then our Country has thus improved, and is still moving onward in the path of knowledge, to what a height may she not ascend in the course even of a few years! The prospects to the ~~old~~ aged are consoling; ~~but~~ to the young, who are more immediately concerned, highly animating and impulsive. You who are just entering upon the Stage of active life will possess ~~[illegible]~~

facilities for advancement in Science, beyond those of your Fathers. You will therefore be under stronger obligations to become an _improved_ generation. But if with these advantages in your hands, you should be content to remain stationary, you will soon find yourselves losing the ground that has been presented to you. The fascinating charms of wealth and superfluities may lead you, blind folded, from the pleasant paths of Science and moral duty; but, believe me, such aberrations will add nothing to your pleasures, your property, or your respectability. Continue then, the march of improvement, in the road that has been graded and smoothed for you by the labors of your predecessors.

On the _advantages_ and _pleasures_ of Science, I cannot so well express myself as in the language of of a recent writer, which, with your permission, shall close my address.

Speaking of ~~the~~ our _gratifications_ in the contemplations of science, he says.- "We are raised by them to an understanding of the infinite wisdom & goodness which the Creator has _displayed_ in all his works. Not a step can ~~be taken~~ we take in any direction without perceiving the most extraordinary traces of design; - and the skill every where conspicuous is calculated in so vast a proportion of instances to promote the happiness of living creatures, and especially of ourselves, ~~that~~ we can feel no hesitation in concluding, that if we knew the whole scheme of Providence, every part would be in harmony with a plan of absolute benevolence. Independently, however, of this most consoling inference, the delight is inexpressible of being able to follow, as it were, with our eyes, the marvellous works of the Great Architect of Nature, to trace the unbounded power and exquisite skill which are exhibited in the most minute, as well as the mightiest parts of his system. The pleasure derived from this study is unceasing, and so various, that it never tires the appetite. But it is unlike the low gratification of sense in another respect: it elevates and refines our nature, while those hurt the health, debase ~~the~~ the understanding, and corrupt the feelings; it teaches us to look upon all earthly objects as insignificant, and below our notice, except the pursuit of knowledge and the cultivation of virtue — that is to say, the strict performance of our duty in every relation of Society; and gives a dignity and importance to the enjoyment life, which the frivolous and the grovelling cannot mprehend.

"Let us, then, conclude, that the pleasures of Science o hand in hand with the solid benefits derived rom it; that they tend, unlike other gratifications, not nly to make our lives more agreeable, but better; nd that a rational being is bound by every motive f interest and of duty, to direct his mind towards pursuits which are found to be the sure path of virtue as well as of happiness".

Harry

(G) Introduction to last address

Having general Sketched ~~s~~ of some of the manners and customs of my early days, and notice the most prominent improvements in arts and Sciences since our revolution, I cannot conclude my series, without a view of the nature and principles of our Federal Constitution and of the errors to which we are liable, as respects its administration, from too great a spirit of innovation and undue party zeal.

And while I express my preference of a republican form of Government, I shall not condemn those founded on different principles, where the people are contented with them, even if they embrace an ~~hereditary~~ aristocracy –

With absolute Despotism # I am at all times at war; for under ~~these~~ the voice of the people is not heard, or known. Not only property but life is at the will of the Despot, and his subjects, in the true sense of the word, are obsequious slaves, deprived of the blessings fitted for them by a beneficent Providence.

That such Governments should be found on this Earth, can be accounted for in no other way than from the ignorance and consequent degradation the people who submit to them. Let us hope th a brighter day is dawning; in which the rights man will be known and prevail throughout th benighted corners of the earth.

In our Country, we flatter ourselves, this day *has* dawned; that it will increase in brightn and at length elevate the whole of the human race to a standard worthy of the dignity of rat -al beings.

J

~~present a host of writers in many branches of the arts and sciences, who, if they have not attained to the pinnacle of some of their fellow workers in Europe, have gained commendary elevation; and no reasons can be assigned why ~~we~~ they may not in a few years equal them in all branches. Their stock of written science, which has been accumulating for ages, exceeds ours; but if we have the wisdom to import ~~it~~ and add it to our own, we shall at length possess ~~a stock~~ an equal stock. Let us hope we may excel them in the useful.~~

(Political Discourse

~~Remarks on the~~ Remarks on ~~the~~ nature Principles of ~~Christian~~ our Governments, ~~the effect of~~ on Parties, and ~~–~~ our present ~~Constitution in relation to~~ Political Constitution.)

The Government of the U States, and of the several States in the Union, ~~are~~ being strictly republican, or in ~~–~~ other words, democratic, ~~in which~~ the majority of the people govern according to forms prescribed in their compacts, called Constitutions which may be altered or set aside and new ones substituted at the voice of a majority. They are therefore said to be unstable ~~[illegible] thought to be unstable~~

It has been laid down, I believe by Montesquieu, ~~that~~ "under the democratical form, public virtue, pervading the hearts and conduct of the whole body of the people, is the animating and sustaining principle. Every selfish and exclusive purpose, he says must be relinquished by the individual; and his Country, its glory, and its happiness, must take entire possession of his heart." Were all men strictly patriotic & virtuous ~~to~~ in the sense here supposed, ~~with~~ a republican government would move smoothly on; for there would be no opposition to good laws and good Constitutions. But taking men as they are, ~~[illegible]~~ public virtue is not the only sustaining principle. It never was ~~found~~ & perhaps never will be found so predominant as to support any system, where the majority govern, unless the self interest of the people be active at ~~the~~ same time.

The position of Montesquieu, perhaps, is intended to show that republicanism cannot exist unless this sustaining principle ~~cannot be~~ is not found to the extent he considers necessary; and if this were the only sustaining power, he may not be very erroneous

But since the declaration of ~~the~~ our Independence republicanism has been sustained in the United States, and I think it will hardly be pretended that public virtue has been its sole ~~[illegible]~~ foundation.

Let it not be understood that I mean to say that the people of the United States possess less public virtue than those of other nations; but that without cherishing the self interest ~~formed in~~ reigning in the ~~minds~~ hearts of all men, a free government can not exist. ¶ Love of glory may rouse a few to action; patriotism may stimulate a few others to exert themselves ~~to~~ ~~promote~~ augment the ~~cause of humanity~~ happiness of their Country; But the great mass will act but feebly where interest is not found at the bottom. On ~~these~~ principles, but principally on the last, our Constitutions are reared founded; and we claim to have made political advances beyond other nations; [illegible] we hold - That all men are born free and equal; that all power of government is derived from the people; and ~~that~~ none are born to rule. Hence we admit of no, hereditary kings, no hereditary nobles, nor any to [illegible] sit in our government except they are placed there by the free suffrages of the people, or their agents.

But though all are born free and equal the minority must submit to be ruled by the majority, even when contrary to their notions of right; and perhaps the phrase born free and equal would have been ~~more~~ more aptly ~~better~~ expressed by saying, we are born with the power [illegible] to govern, or be governed, by a majority; fre this is precisely the practical operation in a republic.

A view of the mode of forming a Constitution for a republican government will place this suggestion in its true point of view.

A country, say of 100,000 people, living without a government, deem it expedient to form themselves into a political compact. All cannot attend in mass to transact this business, a small number then must be selected for the purpose. Delegates are ~~elected~~ chosen from the whole, or sections, as shall be agreed on, and here a majority must decide. The delegates meet ~~meet~~ and, a majority agree on a Constitution.

Thi

~~ment a part of worthy in many branches of the~~ [earls
al scenes who if they have not attained the pinnacle of
me of their fellow workers in Europe, have gained com-
manding elevations and no ~~reasons~~ reason can be ~~assigned~~ adduced why ~~[illegible]~~
~~shall~~ may not in a few years equal them in all branches. Their
stock of written science which has been accumulating for
centuries, exceeds ours; but if we have the wisdom to
impart it and add it to our own we shall at length
accumulate an equal stock. [Our Present Political Condition
In political science we claim to have made ~~discoveries~~ improvements
unknown to the nations of Europe, the world ~~[illegible]~~; that all men are
born free and equal, ~~and~~ that all ~~the~~ power of ~~the~~ Gov-
ernment is derived from the people, and that none
are born with ~~hereditary~~ the right to rule. ~~But~~ The [illegible] that men are
born free and equal, would have been better expressed
by saying: we are born with the right to govern, or be governed, by a ma-
jority; for this is purely the practical operation in a repub-
lic.
A view of the mode of forming Republican governments ~~in a Republic~~
places them in its true point of view. A majority of a country consisting
say of 100,000 people, deem it expedient to form them-
selves into a civil ~~community~~ compact; delegates are elected by
a majority; they meet and a majority agree on a Constitution

This constitution is sent to the people for acceptance, a majority adopt it; representatives are then chosen by a majority and a majority enact the laws. Now all that relates to the formation of the constitution may be done by a bare majority, say of 51,000 ~~out~~ out ~~of 100000~~. Where then are the equal individual right of the 49,000 renounced? But if we are born to rule or be ruled by a majority, then the mode that has been described is consistent with the principle, and no other can be adopted in a republic. During this whole process the minority may be opposed to the plan adopted ~~by the majority~~, and compelled to submit to what they consider an infringement of their rights. Hence it appears that ~~the~~ expression equal ~~rights~~ is not strictly correct in practice.

Suppose ~~again~~, ~~that~~ the majority should agree ~~should agree~~ on a Constitution in which ~~there~~ a provision for an hereditary king and an hereditary branch of ~~the~~ government, would not the majority ~~they~~ have the same right to force the minority as as in the above case? Strictly speaking in the formation of a Constitution each individual should ~~should~~ give his consent to it ~~the instrument~~; ~~and~~ but as that probably never could be effected ~~obtained~~ the minority must ~~be governed~~ yield ~~only~~ to the majority and this is strictly republican. The

The rigid adherents of ~~a~~ democratical Governments have presented the following question. Have we upon the strict principles of ~~a~~ democracy a right to bind our posterity to a Constitution of our own formation? The answer to questions of this kind must be founded on expediency. If a government be necessary, then the ~~rights~~ opinions ~~of~~ of a minor part of the people must give way to others of greater importance, or for the good of the majority, of which ~~the~~ the majority must be the judges, otherwise there ~~can~~ could be no government. And if the Constitution thus adopted ~~by a majority~~, contains innovations alterations and improvements, or for an entire new one, how can posterity justly complain of an interference ~~with~~ with their rights by ~~the~~ system ~~we~~ the majority have adopted?

Under such a system, which I think the most perfect that can be ~~adopted~~ devised, we may enjoy all the rights and happiness of which men are capable in community. But what is our condition at this time? Certainly far from a contented one. A stranger who should visit us would suppose from the complaints he would hear from many, that they laboured under great grievances from incroachments on their

rights, by the men wielding the ~~administration~~ government.
On examining our Constitutions, though truly not perfect, he would find the rights of the people generally well guarded; and ~~he~~ would inquire whether the men in power had been elected according to the prescribed methods - ~~and~~ by a majority of the people. This being determined in the affirmative, he would inquire whence these complaints. On being told ~~that~~ the Constitutions had been disregarded & ~~that~~ illegal laws had been enacted, he would inquire whether the~~y~~ Constitutions contained provisions for correcting such abuses. On finding they did, he would inquire why the constitutional steps had not been taken to correct the procedure; and on being told ~~that~~ a majority of the people would not sanction such a measure, would he not conclude ~~that~~ the charges were ill founded? and that they arose from some other source, probably from the aversion of a minority to submit to the majority? He might indeed satisfy himself ~~that the~~ majority were in the wrong; but could he believe this majority would ~~persist~~ in their measures which they formed them (waiving ~~their~~ intents?) Could

and if these intents were found contra to the Constitution would he not conclude ~~that~~ the Constitution was defective and required an alteration?

In Republics parties will always be found opposed to the administration of the government, whether ill or well conducted; and no ~~an~~ man however popular when elected to an office can long retain his popularity. Where so many are eligible to office, many ambitious for places, will set themselves up as leaders, and by pretensions of patriotism and ~~the~~ redress of grievances, find followers particularly among the jealous part of the community, who are accordingly prone to distrust men of ~~great or~~ eminent talents, who will not stoop to court them; and hence it is ~~that~~ the most able men ~~are~~ are seldom ~~be seen~~ found in the Presidential Chair.

The existence of these parties ~~are~~ is not ~~any~~ dangerous unless they ~~are~~ become nearly equal in numbers, in which case the minority may be emboldened to oppose ~~by~~ force to the majority; but they may be productive of evil by infusing among the people a wicked spirit of opposition to a ~~good~~ wise administration ~~& government~~. ~~But in most cases unfortunate~~

~~been led astray by designing leaders, their self interest have~~ ~~brought bring them back to their senses. the great principles of the Federal Constitution.~~

A History of the rise and conduct of parties since the commencement of the Federal Government would present (~~many dark shades in our character~~) a volume not very flattering to our national character. Its pages, ~~during~~ relating to the French Revolution, would exhibit our writers ~~parties~~ exciting every nerve to keep aloof from that ~~volcanic fires of~~ sweeping volcano, while a party under ~~the~~ pretence of radical reform were exerting themselves by every ~~means~~ art in their power to bring ~~it~~ us within its ~~its~~ ~~reach~~ ruinous sweep; ~~and~~ Even Washington ~~[illegible]~~ ~~our~~ political Father, was charged with monarchical predilections ~~principles~~ & ~~of~~ with having during his administration corrupted the principles of republicanism. ~~During his administration~~. Other men of the purest ~~republican~~ ~~principles~~ minds, whose popularity was less firmly established were swept like straws before the ~~whirlwind~~ ragings: and nothing but the misfortunes ~~[illegible]~~ of the needless ~~war~~ declared against Great Britain under the administration of Mr Madison, and the downfall of Bonaparte could have saved our country from the ruins ~~of the country~~ measures of the radical party. Young men ~~of~~ the of the present day can form no conception of the violence of what was called the Jacobin party at the time to which I allude. They may think the present political contest is warm; but when compared with the furious flames ~~that~~ raged ~~throughout the~~ Country ~~at~~ once previous to the war of 1812, they are ~~cold~~ ~~frozen~~ frigid & ~~even~~ lifeless.

The treaty of Ghent ~~in~~ Decr 1814 brought the war to a conclusion, ~~though~~ the ostensible matter in dispute between us & Great Britain, was left entirely unsettled. and the two more moderate administrations of Monroe and J. Q. Adams, ~~brought~~ turned the people back to the quiet principles of the Constitution as they had been administered by the federal administration.

I have said that the existence of parties ~~are~~ is not dangerous only when nearly balanced. [illegible] is [illegible]. In a republic the ~~pre~~ dominant party must and will govern, and it is the duty of the minority to submit, with no other opposition than that of argument & persuasion, & the ballot box. One principle in human nature may be relied on. When a majority have adopted a course of ~~government~~ measures which militate against ~~their~~ self interest, that course will ~~not~~ be of short duration. When the passions are roused, artful ~~delusions~~ designers may indeed, mislead for a time; but this powerful principle will at length produce a change of opinion, and restore a people, to commonsense who have ~~[illegible]~~ been inadvertently led away, by delusion ~~common sense at least~~.

The two great parties in the United States at this time are the Federal and Democratic, both Republican. Attempts have been made to change the name of Federal to Whigs, and for no better reason than to avoid ~~the~~ odium stigma put upon the former by the old Democracy, or more appropriately of the Jacobine party. By Federalists I mean those who ~~were~~ are attached to the Washington school, an by Democrats those ~~that~~ adhere to ~~that~~ of Jefferson, thou in a form considerably variant from ~~the~~ old Jacobins.

The contention between the parties, attaching relates to the administration of the United States government and the State governments, the principles of the constitutions are held to by both.

The Democrats hold that the late administration of Ge Jackson was strictly republican and ~~that~~ Mr Van Beuren ~~the present President~~ incumbent is pursuing a similar course, and moreover ~~that~~ their opponents are aristocratic in their views;- are endeavouring to enact laws injurious to the republic- partial and favourable to themselves; and ~~in~~ in general ~~short~~ that the leading federalists are enemies to republicanism, ~~and~~ hav

to a monarchy, and are endeavoring to introduce about an aristocratical system into the country.
On the other hand the Federalists hold that the administration of Gen. Jackson and Mr Van Buren was & is ~~are~~ antirepublican; ~~that~~ their measures of position, will be ruinous to the people, and ~~that~~ the Democrats, admitting them to be acting from honest motives, are grossly wrong ~~mistaken~~ in their views; but they do not charge their opponents with intentional hostility to ~~the~~ republicanism.

Perhaps there may be errors on both sides. But to me it would appear very singular were the leaders of either party ~~should~~ to wish or expect, a material change in our Constitution, while the great body of the people adhere to them in their present form.
What, it may be asked, could the Federalist ~~[illegible]~~ gain by a change to a monarchy, but war = bloodshed & deprivation of their rights. Few of them could obtain places of profit and honor, and who these might be no one can ~~predict~~ tell. They may see errors in the Constitution which might be remedied by the people in a legal way; but no one, I will venture to say, would take away the right of ~~the~~ suffrage from the people ~~from the people~~; or contend the general principle that all political power resides with them ~~with the people~~.

Are the men inclined to be jealous of ... and of large property ... Are the former

~~[illegible]~~ men of great prudence of mind, inimical to the people because they have a clearer view of things than men with less capacities? Are the ~~affluent~~ wealthy more likely to be opposed to wholesome laws than the poor? Some would espouse that the former, seeing more clearly the beauties & benefits of a republican government, would be more attached to it than those who had less ~~extended views~~ intelligence; and ~~that the~~ latter would ~~be more attached~~ cling more closely to wholesome laws because they ~~have~~ have more to protect, than the men destitute of property or possessed ~~but~~ little. ~~[illegible]~~

Another consideration. Where there is great landed property, or extensive manufactories, there is found more employment ~~for the poor labourers, & they~~ and higher wages for the poor labourer. And unless it can be shown that an accumulation of property by the rich prevents the poor man from obtaining it, such accumulation must be beneficial to the Country.

In ~~an~~ old populous Countries, where the lands are cultivated, they will necessarily be higher; and the young man who obtains none from his parents cannot in the common course of things purchase; but if there be rich landholders in his neighborhood, he may, by industry, obtain a comfortable living. How different would be his situation were all ~~if all were~~ poor, or ~~were~~ in no want of labourers.

Besides the benefits resulting from landed estates I might mention the variety of articles manufactured by rich companies, such as woolen cloths, cottons, calicoes and many instruments which administer to the wants and conveniencies ~~[illegible]~~ of life, and which from their low prices may be obtained by the ~~[illegible]~~ poor labourer

The wealth of a country then is beneficial to the whole ~~all of~~ its inhabitants; and without good laws to protect it ~~wealth~~ ~~property~~, there cannot be wealth. If these principles are unsound, I confess I am unable to discover their ~~rottenness~~. defects.

The prejudices entertained of men of eminent ~~[illegible]~~ talents and men of ~~men of~~ prosperity are evidently ill founded, and should find no place in a republic. If we have both among us, what better proof need we that our government is in a healthy state and positively good?

At this time the government of the U.S. is in the hands of democracy, and that of several of the States in those of Federalism. What then is the proper course ~~of~~ by the friends of Country? without doubt moderation and ~~some~~ due respect for the honest opinions of ~~our~~ their antagonists. Each should be allowed the rights of the press, free discussion and of addressing assemblies of the people, trusting wholly to arguments & persuasion to correct errors; but in all cases, except in gross ~~attacks~~ violations ~~infringements~~ of the constitution, to submit to the decision of the majority. No other course can be safely pursued, while the power of the country resides in the people. ~~[illegible] [illegible] that the [illegible] [illegible] the case~~.

I am ~~far~~ far from believing ~~that~~ the majority will always be in ~~the~~ right; but the question ~~is what~~ should be ~~done~~ when they are in the wrong? They ~~majority~~ even in this case must rule,— they will rule because the power is in their hands, and how the remedy is to be applied when the majority is overbearing I see not. Here we must rely on the all pervading principle, self interest, with the ~~a[illegible]~~ hope assurance ~~[illegible]~~ that the majority will not long pursue measures in which ~~[illegible]~~ this interest makes no part. If men were governed wholly by intelligence and principle, it would be otherwise. But these themselves never were, and probably never will be, found sufficient, unconnected with self interest. The philanthropist may request this & ~~form~~ suggest schemes of Government upon different ~~principles~~ bases; but if this one principle be omitted, he will find his ~~system~~ scheme a mere rope of sand in a government based upon the general suffrages of the people. In a (Despotic ~~monarchical~~ government the case is different; here the people submit to the Despot with an army at his heels, because they dare not resist ~~him~~.

It has been said that "the people cannot govern them selves without ~~a [illegible]~~, ~~without~~ a controlling power, a power of some kind or other, that should be sufficient to keep them in subjection; ~~and if they [illegible] such a [illegible] they cannot be governed~~" But in a government like ours ~~should~~ will the people provide a force (from the rulers) to govern or coerce them selves? ~~They may indeed provide~~, such ~~an army~~ ~~to do this~~, ~~but will they provide~~ ~~such~~ ~~a force~~? Our Government stands on a different foundation, the interest of the people; and so long as this main pillar shall be supported ~~remain~~, it may remain firm. This is in fact its only ~~its main~~ foundation, and nothing else can be substituted so long as all of its branches are elected by the people. Now would the Union of the States continue a year after its government should adopt pursue a course hostile to the interests of ~~any~~ half a dozen, ~~of~~ contiguous states.

Whether the government will continue in the hands of the present democracy will depend on its course. The President will probably at length lose his popularity, and the people will choose another whom they suppose will be more favorable to their interests. He may be ~~democratic~~ and I think will be democratic, [because such an one will be the most likely to ~~make use of~~ resort to the most effectual mode of intrigue]. Mr Webster who is so much commended for his eminent talents will ~~not~~ never command the votes of a people who are suspicious of ~~mental~~ high acquirements. Some ~~other~~ one who moves in a smaller sphere, will be the man, and he too will rise but to ~~fall~~ sink, in the affections of the people.

The present strife between the two parties may not be of the importance which some have ~~a~~ attached to it. ~~[illegible]~~ Let a President be selected from either, hardly on taking his seat and putting the governmental machine into motion it will be seen that he works it ~~[illegible]~~ nearly in the same manner as in our early administrations - In fact on federal principles. The rule in making his appointments of officers he will
select

select his favorites, and avoid his his opposers; but when ~~they are~~ appointed they must of course, act under the existing laws. ~~But should the President apply his power to the machine without regard to its springs, weights & cogs, he would force it out o[f] order set; nor could it be put in operation without the application of force to the proper part and in a proper manner; and this he would learn from those who contrived it.~~ But to put the great ~~first put the~~ machine in successful operation ~~it~~ ~~acting~~ the movement must be ~~he would see~~ ~~is~~ strictly on the old federal principles. And so it has happened, ~~that~~ our Presidents, whatever may have been their pretensions on entering upon their duty ~~administrations~~, have been compelled to adopt the federal ~~[illegible]~~ system in its prominent points, ~~on the main question~~. The greatest deviations from it were seen in the administrations of Mr Jefferson and Gen. Jackson. — Mr Madison attempted something of a similar ~~the same~~ nature, which his better ~~good~~ sense ought to have avoided; but the unnecessary ~~[illegible]~~ war of 1812 effectually cured him of the malady he had imbibed from his predecessor.

The deviations of Gen. Jackson were not greater than his eccentricities, & the school in which he had been taught ~~have~~ led us to anticipate. His administration was a ~~strange~~ mixture of good and evil; sometimes with and sometimes without a compass; and if he brought the political ship into port without dashing upon the rocks, it was rather from good fortune than skilful calculation. His hostility to the U States Bank seems to have originated in a war-whoop that roused his martial spirit ~~for an attack~~ and led him to the attack with the tomahawk. Should it finally be abolished ~~destroyed~~, the wants of the people may restore it.

~~The attack on this Bank, many believe, is~~ was ~~the cause of the embarrassments under which mercantile transactions have laboured for two three years last past; but that it should have produced such a general tumour in the State banks, had they been firmly based, and such a fluttering among our traders~~ not only on borrowed stock, ~~but~~ ~~in borrowed stock of~~ ~~stock capital~~, but others who were [illegible] pile ossa on Pelion ~~is rather problematical. Other efficient causes may be assigned for the tornado, and~~ I hope it may be avoided ~~avoided~~ ~~hereafter, by a close adherence to industry, economy, and~~ [illegible] ~~"spirit of the lenance", all of which are sovereign remedies in maladies of this kind.~~

[illegible]

Whether Mr Van Buren will continue to follow the rough path marked out by his predecessor I am not certain. He will watch, with an eagle eye the movements of the people

shape

his popularity on the wane, he will see to it. If he finds decided majorities against him in both houses of Congress I think he will hardly venture himself on veto grounds, I judge not thus because I think he lacks decision ~~firmness~~, but because I believe he loves popularity; and when this love is strong ~~great~~, it requires great inflexibility to resist its ~~[illegible]~~. It is said that he is shrewd and artful: these may do much in certain cases, but they will be found like fragile straws when placed in opposition to the interests of the people.

Another election of President may change the course of administration. Suppose it should be federal: would parties cease to exist? Not at all! new arms would ~~might~~ use, and new disputes be introduced. Ambitious men would never ~~not~~ rest easy so long as they ~~they~~ see ~~[illegible]~~ places of honor and profit before them; and this will continue to be our situation so long as our government shall continue. But so long as parties fight only on paper and at the ballot boxes, we may congratulate ourselves ~~[illegible]~~ on the happiness we may enjoy over nations ~~those~~ where the ~~a~~ few ~~men~~ rule the many, and men agree because they dare not differ.

In several of the States federalism has the ascendancy; in others democracy. In the first the principal officers are federalists; in the second democrats; but are not the people ~~[illegible]~~ enjoying their rights civil privileges under laws enacted for the whole. And so long as the men who enact the laws, hold their places but for short periods, at the will of the people, and ~~they~~ are themselves subject to the laws they enact, where is the danger of oppression?

If at any time the laws bear unequally on a part of the people, attempts ~~will be~~ are made to repeal them; but if the majority adhere ~~to these~~, then the minority must submit. But in a community where the people are so alike in their circumstances as those of limitted sections of country it is hardly possible ~~to suppose~~ that, laws operating upon ~~one~~ a part should differ essentially ~~from~~ in their operation upon another. The idle, and those who ~~who~~ are preying upon society, will always ~~find fault at~~ be oppressed by wholesome laws; but the honest and industrious ~~men~~ will be contented & happy under their protection.

If the foregoing principles and facts be admitted, ~~as true~~ what results from them? ~~Was~~, as a late pamphleteer asserts "~~that~~ we are a divided, distracted community; incessantly agitated by violent factions; each in turn, triumphing & oppressing the other;" This is my apprehension ~~true~~ but ~~[illegible]~~ ~~that~~ with much scribbling and ballot box contest in relation to our candidates for office, we yet remain at peace with each other and agree on many other points. Good neighbourhood and kind sympathies are preserved; the arts and sciences ~~are in progress~~ and useful internal improvements, are in progress, ~~and~~ and we are at peace with all nations: and as happy as are other parts of the world.

It is true that in our newly settled States society ~~is~~ ~~[illegible]~~, is yet rough, the laws feeble and education below the standard of the old States. But ~~does this~~ does the state of things ~~proceed~~ proceed from radical defects in ~~our~~ the Constitutions, or from circumstances necessarily connected with ~~with~~ the settlement of new regions? However repulsive this may appear to the refined ~~mind~~ man dwelling in a country where good laws and good morals ~~are~~ ~~predominant~~ prevail, a little reflection will show that they are not ~~[illegible]~~ permanent obstructions to a better state of society. Even in the old parts of our country a retrospective view will ~~show~~ present a ~~view~~ picture one equally repulsive. And what was the condition of the ~~most~~ present refined ~~countries~~ nations of Europe, before they felt the ~~ameliorating~~ polishing hand of civilization? With all the advantages we possess from the mass of ~~useful~~ information we obtain, from them ~~[illegible]~~, it would be singular were ~~we~~ the ~~as slow in the~~ our march of improvement ~~to [illegible]~~ ~~nothing have been~~ not more rapid than [illegible] hither- ~~[illegible]~~.

The existence of ~~the~~ two great political parties in our Country, [illegible] it good m ~~may~~
though perhaps may operate unfavorably in one point of view. In the strife betw
them, things of importance may be overlooked, matter
of minor ~~import~~ consequence may absorb the attention,
and passion blind the eyes of those who have ~~confined~~ limited
views of great national ~~importance~~ interests. With le
of this spirit probably we should have been, at this
time, in a more advanced state. As respects improvemen
in Roads, Canals, Bridges ~~&~~ and other means of intercourse
between different points of the Country, perhaps we are mov
ing onwards with as much rapidity as our circum-
stances will admit; - possibly beyond our means.
But are we not in the back ground with respect to
some others of great national concern? Where are
our Boards of Longitude instituted for improvements in Navi-
gation? - our National Observatories for ~~improvement~~ discoveries in astro
nomy? - our Nautical Almanacs, without which no valuab
ship attempts to pass the ocean? our premiums held out
for ~~improving~~ rendering more perfect astronomical tables and instruments ~~for the~~
of ~~[illegible]~~ science ~~Navigation~~ ! The scientific traveller from Europe
finds nothing concerning these to insert in his journal. They
are all on the other side of the Atlantic, where wo

profess to where the mind is shackled by monarchies and overgrown [illegible], and ingenious men find ~~find~~ no ~~encouragement~~ stimulus to action, save in the arts of arbitrary rule ~~or those which aid them~~.

On the subject of ~~an~~ observatories, much ~~may~~ might be said. No scientific nation of Europe is without one or more; England, besides the great national observatory at Greenwich and others endowed by the King, has several attached to her universities, and a number in possession of ~~[illegible]~~ private gentlemen. At Paris are not less than two, and about as many more in different parts of France. Portugal, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Norway and (surprise) even Iceland, have similar establishments; and will it be believed that there is not one within ~~the~~ United States! It should be remembered that on suggesting the subject of an observatory to Congress for consideration, President J Q Adams, was ridiculed by the ~~Fogys~~ wits of the day - they called it a project for rearing Light Houses in the sky, and there it went off in a sneer. In future times, it is hoped, more enlightened men may find seats in Congress; and until then, we must content ourselves with importing from Europe, the sublime parts of science, which ~~our~~ our inordinate cupidity will never ~~[illegible]~~ reach. nor mediocrity of attainments enable us ~~to appre ciate~~ even to approximate. ~~[illegible]~~

other defects might be noticed; among which is the improvidence of Congress in relation to a military force for our defence in case of a sudden invasion or insult to the laws. A standing army, excepting so far as is necessary for manning our frontier garrisons, is not called for in time of peace. But a well organized, and at least a partially disciplined militia of competent numbers is indispensable to our welfare: and to carry into effect a wise system, the present wild notions in relation to such a force, must be eradicated. So long as the whole of our able bodied men are considered as soldiers we shall have no soldiers; and strange as it is, Congress seem to think that, ~~augmenting~~ with our pittance of ~~a force~~ regular force, ~~is~~ all that is necessary is provided.

When a select militia shall be organized ~~and~~ in each of the States, disciplined a short time in the field annually, and paid for their services, like all other men in community; with the aid of our navy, ~~the~~ our country will be safe from any formidable invasion or opposition to the laws and at a comparatively small expense. Our present exposed situation is too obvious, to need ~~an~~ elucidation. But this subject scarcely finds a place in the minds of our political men. Commerce, trade agriculture, internal improvements and learning are flourishing, all is considered safe and prosperous; and no lessons of wisdom are taught from the destruction of our Capitol by five or six thousand British troops ~~in~~ in the late war, in the face of our pretended efficient militia. A wise Latin proverb says, "The man improperly blames the sea, who is a second time shipwrecked," "Improbe Neptunum accusat qui naufragium iterum facit." which I submit to our learned members of Congress.

Notwithstanding the importance of this subject, I am aware, ~~that the~~ member of ~~Congress~~ of that body who should urge it at ~~this~~ time, would subject himself to ridicule more severe than ~~that~~ of "erecting light houses in the sky" [It probably will be allowed to sleep until a war at our doors shall rouse us from our ~~inaction~~ repose in a state of ~~distraction~~ reaching delirium]

In the disputes between the political parties we have much about the ~~constitutionality~~ illegality of the proceedings of Congress, and certain steps taken are pronounced unconstitutional. To decide in such cases it is necessary to recur to the instrument from which Congress derives its powers. The design of the Constitution is set forth in the preamble as follows. "We the people of the United States, in order to form a perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America".

In the enumeration of the powers of Congress one is to provide for the general welfare of the United States: ~~Th~~ ~~is a necessary clause~~ another ~~one~~ is to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers. In the adopted amendments is the following concerning reserved ~~powers~~ rights: The powers not delegated to ~~Congress~~ the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or ~~to~~ the people.

Now ~~the~~ question is whether Congress are confined strictly ~~to the~~ ~~to~~ specific articles named in the list of its powers. Those who hold to the affirmative, say incorporate the act to establish a national bank, and to construct a national road are unconstitutional, because ~~they~~ are not specifically named. To me this appears a preposterous construction. If they are not injurious ~~to~~ the States, nor interfere with their ~~powers~~ rights, and the general welfare under ~~and~~ ~~the~~ their ~~laws~~ ~~are~~ necessary for carrying into execution the designs of the Constitution, the objections are groundless. In all ~~questions~~ cases of this kind, when any measure is proposed in Congress, the question is whether it is necessary for the general welfare, and for carrying into effect the powers of the Constitution; and lastly whether it interferes with the reserved rights of the States. When the measure proposed is cleared from ~~any~~ these objections the constitutional course need not be doubted. Such latitude of construction must be granted or there can be no federal government; ~~and~~ its design would be defeated.

In the construction of a national road, but a single question is presented, and that is whether Congress can take the requisite lands from individuals? and here the general welfare decides the point, as in all like cases. A national road, may be as necessary for the general welfare as dockyards, fortifications or ~~a~~ ships of the line; and the establishment of a bank, or other institution, ~~necessary~~ necessary for the general welfare, if not injurious to the States, is equally within the legitimate powers of Congress.

To have doubts on these points, at this day, seems to be too late, and would ~~evince~~ indicate a blindness in our former legislators, as well as in the people, not very flattering to our discernment. The questions are of expediency and here the people will decide at the ballot box.

One point in contest between the two political partie

to be decided by the present Congress is the manner i
which the revenue of the United States, not in immediate
want, shall be kept; whether in offices provided fo
the purpose, or in ~~the~~ certain banks of the several states?
That the money be safely deposited perhaps is all tha
the people require; and whether the proposed offices
or the banks ~~are~~ would be the safest is the question in which
they are interested. If in banks and the money
is to be loaned by them, the borrowing merchants ma
may prefer it. But the people at large have in some
degree lost their confidence in banks from their late
or having any suspension of specie payments

The violent hostility of President Jackson, to the banks of the
United States, many believe, was the cause of the embar-
rassments under which ~~the~~ our mercantile affairs have labored
for two or three years past; but ~~that~~ this should
have produced such a general havoc on the state banks
had they been firmly based, and such a flattering un
one traders, not only on borrowed stocks, but on others
who would pile Ossa on Pelion, is rather problemati-
cal. Other efficient causes may be assigned for the tor-
nado; and it is evidently hoped that it may hereafte
be avoided by ~~an~~ strict adherence to industry, economy, and

a little more use of the "sweat of the brow" - all sovereign remedies ~~to~~ for maladies of this kind

Of the utility of a few banks duly placed over the Country no doubt ~~is~~ ought to be entertained; but to multiply them as we have done of late, without solid vaults of Gold and silver is dangerous in the extreme; and whether they are destined to survive long, or are struck with a fatal disease at the heart, remains to be seen. Some it is feared will [illegible] leave a long train of dejected mourners, who though they may feel the loss, will hardly be disposed to erect monuments to their memory! But if they are now in sound health, their late indisposition shows clearly ~~that~~ they are not proof against epidemics in unfavorable seasons. Why then should the United States rely on them for places of deposit, if they can find safe ones of their own? And to say these cannot be found, would be, to acknowledge that we are indeed unfit for self government

The Bill relating to this subject was brought forward during ~~the~~ our last session of Congress, and much debate had on it, by members of ~~[illegible]~~ the government, who considered it an impolitic measure; but on first perusing the bill I must confess it did not strike me as fraught with the evils they claim to have discovered. If it finds none then unable to ~~carry~~ ~~it~~. I think there is no great probability of their being successful ~~at the~~ for some time to come ~~present session~~. But should it ~~pass into~~ become a Law, the fears ~~that~~ have been apprehended of its effects, I hope, will not be ~~experienced~~ realized —

The great and irritating subject of Negro slavery which now agitates the people of the United States, is not confined to the two political parties to which ~~I have~~ my remarks have been principally limited. The parties, current of federalists and democrats of ~~the~~ northern and middle states ~~they are~~ are denominated by the terms slavery and anti-slavery parties.

That a people who have abolished slavery as inconsistent with a republican government, should revolt and ~~ever~~ even shudder at the fact ~~that~~ 2½ millions of their fellow creatures, are now in chains, bought & sold like cattle, and writhing under the lash of their unfeeling masters, within the limits of our Union, is too exciting for the humane mind to bear with complacency; and if a degree of warmth is sometimes excited ~~that~~ carrying zeal in the cause beyond prudent bounds, it is not extraordinary.

It would indeed be strange if any were to be found among northern people who actually advocated slavery on abstract principles. None such are openly foun but many treat the subject with such coldness and indifference, as to induce a belief, ~~that~~ they are not far from the sentiments of its real advocates.

Among the people of the slave holding States a few reflecting ~~people~~ men may be found who assent to the injustice and cruelty of slavery; but the great body cling to it as a right, and some even hold ~~that~~ the happiness of the blacks depends on their degraded condition; and even one of their Governors has recently declared ~~that~~ slavery is the corner stone of republicanism, and that he would not reside in a country where it did not ~~not~~ exist.

Others a little more prudent, ~~present~~ invent a plea for ~~it~~ slavery. The Negroes they say, are so ignorant, degraded and improvident ~~that~~ they would not, or could not, support themselves, were they made free;- ~~that~~ the slave holders derived the right to them from their fathers as property, and in some instances as their only patrimony;- ~~that~~ emancipation would ~~render~~ reduce the owners to abject poverty, and open a wide field of blood and carnage.

That the last would follow of course, is rendered improbable by the result of the late emancipation in the British West India Islands; but that it would be attended with

with the loss, or more properly, the restoration of prop-
ty to its owners, is admitted. Even so it would ha
been with the masters of the captured & enslaved Christians at
Algiers, in case of the emancipation of her slaves ~~[illegible]~~
in the reign of her Deys; and so with all others who hold
their fellow creatures in bondage, in defiance of the ~~[illegible]~~
rights which every human being ~~can~~ claims as coming
from his maker.

But, while the southern slaveholders found their
plea of the inability of the blacks for self government
~~in~~ on their ignorance, they decline (~~and refuse~~) any efforts ~~attempts~~
to raise them from their degraded state by instructing them
in the rudiments of knowledge:– thus giving ~~[illegible]~~ to the an
Slavery advocates, a powerful argument against their
system, and a proof that the slaveholders are determ
to keep the shackles of their uninstructed property firmly
riveted.

The claims of slaveholders to their biped ~~human~~ property
is derived from their political compacts, and may the
fore be said to be constitutional. So theft, robbery and
other crimes, may be made constitutional. But there is
~~such things~~ ~~as~~ right and wrong in things ~~which are~~ paramoun
to all political compacts, and nothing but iron for

On examining the ~~course taken by~~ principles of the abolitionists, it appears to me they have infinitely the strongest side of the question; but that they will effect this humane object soon is very doubtful. They hope however to induce Congress to emancipate the slaves in the District of Columbia and remove the horrible spectacle of Negro traffic, suffering and degradation, so often seen there, by the freemen of the northern states

The opposers of the anti-slavery party in this ~~southern~~ ~~part~~ section of the ~~States~~ union, represent the efforts making for emancipation as dangerous; that ~~they~~ may bring about a division of the Union, and, should the plan succeed, fill the northern states with a black population.

A division of the states would truly be an unfortunate event But do those who hold this opposite view, consider that a division would be more unfortunate to the slave holding states than to us; and that it would soon put an end to slavery in the southern ~~division~~ section?

Under the Union, as it now exists, the southern people can claim their absconded ~~run away~~ slaves, in any of the States and carry them back, by process of law; a separation would put an end to this. ~~would~~ As soon as a slave should pass the line of ~~division~~ demarkation, he would be free in its prohibit by law; Any reputations of such favor would be extremely faint, when it ~~was~~ is considered that the Slave holding states separated for the very purpose of holding their slaves, contrary to the sentiments of the other.

But in case of a war between the two nations what would be the condition of the one ~~slave~~ holding slaves ~~nation~~? Suppose an army from the free nation, ~~come~~ to invade ~~the other~~ carrying arms for volunteer slaves, with assurance of protection to all who would leave their masters. It needs not the gift of prophecy to determine the result. The southern people well know this, and all are not blind to their interests. They may hold out threats, but a disunion is the last thing their interests will ~~[illegible]~~ lead them to adopt.

The fears of a flow of black population from the south, may serve to alarm those who ~~[illegible]~~ limit their benevolence to a ~~white skin~~ their own colour; ~~and~~ whose love of liberty is confined to their fire sides, ~~and~~ and who would not complacently within sight and hearing of the ~~groans~~, ~~and~~ lashes groans of millions of their fellow beings; so long as ~~their~~ dear selves = are not partakers of the misery. The ~~time~~ That will come when the black man will be estimated by his talents and conduct; And when he shall be elevated ~~to a place~~ among freemen, and attained the advantages of an expanded education, little doubt can be entertained, that he will rank in the scale of intellect, with those who have never felt the ~~depressing~~ degradation of the slave. Should the experiment show ~~that~~ this prediction to be false, and that education and the exertion of his future being, ~~wasted~~ will not raise the intellect ~~[illegible]~~, [illegible] then an argument may be drawn to prove that he is of an inferior race, and fitted only for the slave of a superior ~~order~~ ~~race~~, who will bestow an act of kindness by taking this miserable ~~[illegible]~~ biped under his care, as he does his horse & ox for their labor, to be ranked in Cuviers order of Quadrumana or four handed animals, among monkeys and baboons.

On the commonly received opinion that the negro ~~sprung~~ and the white sprung from the same source, it seems to me, ~~that the~~ alleged inferiority of the ~~latter~~ former depending on climate habit &c. is deserving of little weight. If it can be proved that ~~they~~ blacks are another race and ~~[illegible]~~ constituted differently from the white, ~~then the~~ inferiority contended for, would be more easily admitted; but would not necessarily follow, because this difference of race might argue prove a superiority.

The low state of civilization in Africa is adduced a
a proof of ~~the~~ inferiority of the Negroes. But on a compari-
son of their condition ~~with~~ other rude people of tropi-
cal regions, is it found that the Africans are ~~they are far~~ beneath the ~~them~~
in ~~civilization~~? arts, science & civilization?

If we ~~can~~ may credit the reports of many late travellers
it would appear that the inhabitants of the interior of
Africa possess many of the useful arts, ~~not inferior~~ much superior
~~to~~ the Indians of America; and if the latter cannot
~~XX~~ ~~easily~~ held in slavery, as it has been alleged by some, is it not owing to the contiguity
of their tribes, who have not been brought under subjec-
tion to their civilized neighbors?

Would a colony of civilized people in Africa be
able to hold a large population of black slaves in the vicin
of neighboring negro nations? It would be impossible!
But carry our Indians to Africa and place them in the
condition of the slaves in America, and where would be the diff-
culty of keeping them in subjection, provided the ~~negroes~~
bordering negroes were unfriendly to them? If the Indian
in such a condition were less submissive than the black faces
in America, would it not prove ~~that~~ they had less discern-
~~tion~~ & forethought than the negro, who consults prudence and wisely submits
because he sees no chance to escape.   But ~~It~~

But ~~it is said~~ ~~by~~ some of our Eagle-eyed ~~modern~~ Physiologists, who
"From bearings of the different Osses,
And shapes of forehead, chin, proboscis,
The frons and occiputs topography,
Can write a man's complete biography"—
~~that~~ have pronounced the negro an inferior race.
In my youth I recollect to have read a pamphlet which attempted, & very ingeniously, to change a pack of Cards into an almanac and prayer book; but I am not aware ~~that~~ almanacs & prayer books were superseded by the author's labor.

The science of phrenology, to which I allude perhaps ~~however~~ claims many able advocates, and when ~~this~~ system shall have been generally adopted, and
"We license none for teaching schools,
Unless by Gall's and Spurzheim's rules
Define his sconce, in every section,
Bears phrenologique inspection;
we may be compelled to change our mode of educa~~tion~~

[redacted]

"

Having, as I am aware, very imperfectly sketched
some of the manners and customs of my early da
and embraced the most prominent improvem
since our ~~revolutionary scenes~~ Revolution I cannot ~~[illegible]~~ conv
eniently conclude without a notice of the happily fo Federal
Constitution (adopted, since that period ~~by the States~~, by which we
have, since the ~~become a nation~~ obtained a respectable st
tion among the nations of the eastern world.
Notwithstanding my predilection preference of ~~for~~ a republican
form of Government, I shall not condemn those
founded on different principles where the majority
of the people are contented satisfied with them. With absolu
~~Despotism~~ monarchies I am at all ~~times~~ ~~tempers~~ at war; for here the
voice of the majority of the people is not heard or even known
nor their rights of property ~~nor their~~ been regarded. If under such
governments a calm aspires to reign it is the calm
of the grave in which is buried all that is valuable
~~to man~~. or ennobling to man. Such Government still exist, but th
rest on ~~a~~ foundations that must give way ~~the instant~~ when rea

It is said that Phrenologists who have examined the structure of the negro head have pronounced them an inferior race. In my youth I recollect to have read a pamphlet which attempted, & very ingeniously, to change a pack of Cards into an almanac and a prayer book; but I do not recollect that almanacs and prayer books were superseded by the author's labor. Whether the bumps of phrenology were ~~meet with a better fate time~~ ~~stops~~ were ~~can~~ determined ~~But~~ ~~[illegible]~~

authentic ~~this~~ system should be established on other foundations than the names of its projectors, I think we may rely on the old method ~~system~~ of ~~primary~~ primary, schools, academies & colleges, to develope the mental faculties ~~powers~~ of human beings whether white black or mixed.

Mr Jefferson, though a believer ~~of~~ in the inferiority of the negro race, says "There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave, he says, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other".

After detailing some of the obvious effects of slavery he says, "Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that their liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my Country when I refle that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever: that considering numbers, nature and natural mean only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchang of situation is among possible events: that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in su contest. — But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various consideration of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their wa into every one's mind. I think a change already per-ceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way of hop preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation."

M

~~Opinions like this would hardly be suffered to circulate in the southern states at this time — a striking proof of the Jefferson's Notes, Query 18)~~

Mr Jefferson's political opinions, though liable to
[illegible] aberrations, and to be received with caution, in
this instance must be admitted as judicious, and weighty;
but at this day, they would hardly be permitted to circu
late in the Southern States. "A total emancipation of the
slaves", would sound harsh to those who profess to believe
that negro slavery is the corner stone of republicanism.
I hope with him, "the spirit of the master is abating, that
the slave is rising from the dust and his condition molli
fying". And may this ameliorating spirit continue
until the great object shall be ~~effected~~ consummated, without the
extirpation of the masters.— — —

Of the permanency of our Government many entertain
strong doubts, which others believe the experiment alrea
dy made, insures the certainty of its continuance. In
his message to Congress at the commencement of its ~~pre~~ late
~~sent~~ session Mr Van Beuren ~~says~~ said. "The present year
closes the first half century of our federal Institutions;
and our system has now been fully tested by experi
ence". Every friend of his country would rejoice ~~to~~
could he coincide in opinion with the President; but are
there not some ominous clouds in our atmosphere, which
weaken this opinion? The increase of mobs and the impunity

with which the offenders escape punishment, ~~within th~~ ~~[illegible]~~, strengthens ~~the~~ opinions of those who think they perceive the approach of anarchy: and the recent inroads upon liberty, at Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, in which a mob ~~[illegible]~~ forcibly ~~[illegible]~~ took possession of the legislative hall at that place, adds to their alarm.

Were these disorders confined to our new settlements they would be less ~~ominous~~ alarming; but when ~~[illegible]~~ they are seen in our ol States and even in New England, where we boast of an advanced state of improvement and a pure sta of republicanism, is not the opinion ~~of~~ as expressed in ~~his~~ Mr Jefferson's 17th query of his notes, ~~that~~ "from the conclusio of the war we shall be going down hill", rendered at least ~~[illegible]~~ probable?

Among all the ~~disputes~~ contentions of parties in the United States, since the adoption of the federal Constitution, nothing so threatening to our liberty has occurred, as the Harrisburg ebullition. If the people of that State suffer such proceedings to pass with impunity, ~~it~~ the same spirit may burst into a flame in other States; and what will prevent a similar attack on Congress, when party spirit sha dictate it? And should this occur where is the remedy? The President might call on the militia for protection; but the militia are the people; and would the people ~~[illegible]~~ oppose themselves? our little army in their distant garrisons, may be laid out of the question. Hence it is clear that when a law or even a constitution becomes obnoxious to a overwhelming majority, it ~~becomes~~ is a nullity; it will be repealed ~~or~~ revised or set aside ~~as void~~ and no power exists in our government to enforce either, in such a case. The strength of our government lies then in the affections of the people; and while their interests ~~of the people~~ are protected by it, they will support it, except in extraordinary cases of political delusion, from which they will be brought back when they feel the effects of their indiscretion.

In a monarchical Government, which maintains a large standing army the case is different. So long as the monarch keeps his troops loyal, as he may do by good pay, feeding & clothing at the public expense, and by honors conferred on his officers, he can enforce the laws, even when they are oppressive. But under these circumstances, severe oppression may rouse the people to disaffection ~~[illegible]~~ reactions in which the monarch may repent of his ~~severity~~ imprudence among

under such a government there may be more tranqu
ity than in a republic; but it is the gloomy tranquilit
of despair, in which the rights of the people are no
part of its elements But

~~Under such a government there may be more tranquility but it ~~sometimes~~ anarchy is ~~the~~ the gloomy tranquility of ~~distress~~ despair in which the rights of the people are not [illegible] its elements. And though~~

if a free government is more liable to storms, who would not prefer it, when it is considered ~~that~~ the people may choose the commander of the political ship, and change him for another more trustworthy, when they find him unskillful or corrupt? True indeed the people may make a bad selection and gain nothing by the change but when this happens, they may correct their error in the next choice. But is it ~~possible~~ reasonable to suppose the people would continue to repose confidence in ~~a government~~ an administration which is regardless of their interest or one they think is so, we might as well suppose they would submit with impunity to the midnight plunderer, or the highway robber

If it be true that "the people cannot govern themselves without a controlling power, sufficient to keep them in subjection," the question is, whence this power shall be derived? Where ~~an hereditary~~ a despotic monarch ~~exists~~ is found, with a strong army at his commands, such a power ~~exist~~ does exist; but it is a government of his own and not of the people. It may be good, bad or indifferent as suits his ~~disposition~~ inclination and the people must submit to it because they cannot successfully oppose it. But who believes that such a government, if it is less turbulent, is safer than one where the people have the power in their own hands, & can wield it according to their interest.

Suppose it be admitted that all men are totally depraved from their birth, as a certain sect in our Country allege; where there ~~are~~ rulers to be found, who ~~do~~ are not part of this depravity? Some special favorites of Heaven we are told, are miraculously freed from this depravi Are we then to select ~~them~~ for our rulers? But how are the people to ascertain who are these special favorite Is ~~this~~ purity to be found in Kings & nobles? Let history answer the question.

To those who are looking for a millenium I submi the question whether a government of laws will be necessary under its reign? If we look at [illegible] the theocracy of the Hebrews we find that laws were instituted for the government of the people, some of which were not of the most bland kinds, and offences were often committed and punished with unrelenting severity. But leaving these speculations ~~[illegible]~~, the real question is what is the government best adapted to the happiness of the people as they are now constituted? Living free, I believe, will long hesitate in the choice, between ~~a~~ the calm of an ~~hereditary~~ monarchy and a republic, with all of its perturbations

In Europe, at this time, the Governments are evidently approaching to republicanism. In Great Britain ~~England~~ and France ~~they~~ are what are called mixed governments, in which the people elect a branch, which, with their kings and Lords, enact the laws; and as none can be enacted ~~passed~~ without the concurrence of the three branches, the ~~people~~ rights of the people are to a certain extent secured. But when ~~if~~ a law is ~~[illegible]~~ enacted it cannot be repealed, without the consent of the king and Lords, though it militates against the rights of a majority of the people, and may therefore be oppressive. But In cases of this kind the voice of the people will generally be heard; for it can hardly be supposed that the interest of the hereditary branches is entirely distinct from that of the people. With oppressive laws among ~~in~~ so enlightened a people as those of Great Britain & France, ~~it is~~ I cannot believe such ~~they~~ laws could long continue, though their kings have at their command strong standing armies. A king at the head of an enlightened and discontented people, would not be very happily situated, nor would he long be able to sustain his crown; for he could not retain the loyalty of his army. Where the people are very ignorant the case may be different, as we see in Turkey and oth eastern nations.

The difference between our Government and the mixed governments of Europe consists in this: Here the people elec all the branches, they only one; but our President wh elected has nearly the same power as the kings of tho governments. He indeed has more inducements to co sult the popular opinion than they ~~kings~~, and may in some instances ~~[illegible]~~ act with less independence th his duty should dictate in enforcing salutary law But if he errs here, the consequences may not be so fatal as from the errors of a corrupt king with an army at his back.!

If the people of Great Britain & France prefer an he reditary king to an elective one, it is not for us to cong ~~[illegible]~~ ~~their systems as interfering with their institutions~~ ~~pass them~~. Perhaps their governments are as near republicanism as the present condition of a majority o their people will admit. The late revolution in France proves incontestably that the people were not then unprepared for a free government. But the time may come when they ~~government~~ people, as well as the ~~[illegible]~~ peop of Great Britain, may safely elect their Chief magistrate.

In the other governments of Europe, excepting the semi republic of Switzerland, the hereditary system prevails, and our true policy is to remain on friendly terms with all, availing ourselves of their arts sciences and useful manufactures: and if we would persuade them to adopt free governments ~~our system~~, nothing can be more effectual than a wise administration of our own.

The experiment now making in America is of immense importance to the world. The point to be determined is whether men are capable of self government, or in other words, whether they are rational beings. Should the experiment turn out a failure, the idea of a free government would be banished for centuries and perhaps never revived. American liberty would be a bye word, and held up as a beacon to the people of Europe in future times; while we should remain in a state of anarchy, or be chained to the car of some despot with an army at his heels, & doling out groans at our past folly ~~& infelicity~~.

But is this to be our fate? I will not believe it. Though there may be some ~~signs~~ portentous ~~signs~~ clouds in our political atmosphere, are ~~there~~ not others of a promising aspect? our commerce, trade, agriculture & mechanic arts are flourishin & our means of education enlarging. ~~we are in want of standing our party differences are sore injuring social intercourse & kind feelings towards each other.~~ There may be some ~~defective~~ ~~insufficient~~ defective points in our constitutions, which might be amended but (if arbitrary objected) few of any ~~men~~ would wish to abridge the great principle on which ~~they~~ our liberties are founded, the universal suffrage of the people.

It is true, the ~~ancient~~ republics of ancient and moder ~~republics~~ Europe have failed and monarchical governm have succeeded them; but a ~~critical~~ slight examination of histor will show that no republic in that region, was ever so fa ably situated for durability as in ours. The people of Greece and Rome are generally supposed to have been enlighte and it is true their leading men were so; ~~but~~ but it was far otherwise with the people at large. With all their pre tensions to liberty perhaps no people on earth were mor under the influence of ~~conspiracy~~ ambitious leaders; and their educatio was usually calculated to make them ~~soldiers~~ in spirit and obedient soldiers, instead of peaceable republicans. The educatio of ~~the~~ the Spartans & Greeks has been held by some historians as ~~peculiar~~ peculiarly adapted to ~~rep~~ republicanism. But Heaven grant that no Spartan education be introduced into ~~the~~ the U. States

Rome ~~it was~~ existed a long time under the name of a republic; but what was her republicanism but a name! If among her leading men were ~~brave~~ magistrates, ~~warriors, judges,~~ generals, able pleaders, skillful politicians ~~statesmen all~~ united in one, as historians have represented, what were the plebians in general knowledge. The inordinate ambition of the nobility and ~~their~~ its ~~and~~ eternal wars made the people soldiers, but they ~~very~~ learned ~~possessed~~ little of the spirit of republicans. In this respect they were like the republicans of France in the early part of ~~the~~ its revolution; a Marat or a Robespierre could lead them headlong to any excesses; and under such circumstances the downfall of ~~the~~ Roman republic is not a wonder; ~~the~~ the wonder rather is that it continued so long without a ~~cau~~ cause. ~~I~~ I ~~flatter myself~~ believe it must be admitted that the general knowledge of the people ~~of~~ of the U States is superior to that of the Grecians & Romans; but if this is not the case, there are other counteracting circumstances which place us on very different ground. Our union is a combination of 26 sovereignties, ~~extending over a~~ embracing a large extent of country; each with power to ~~regulate~~ manage its internal police, by which the rights of the people, in comparatively small sections, ~~may~~ ~~be~~ is regulated and preserved. Were all of these powers concentrated in Congress this would be impossible from the extent of our Country and the multiplicity of business which would come before that body.

By our present systems of State Governments I cannot see why they may not spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and remain under one head, which, while regulates our great national affairs, leaves the states to manage their own, in a way adapted to their peculiar circumstances; and so long as it shall be for the interests of the States to adhere to the union, they will support it. When this interest ceases to be a ligament we may look for a dissolution of the Union, & the formation of different governments within our present territory and then ~~we~~ may bid farewell to ~~peace~~ harmony, peace and prosperity.

~~Let us then, whilst we differ in our political sentiments in relation to the administration of the Government cling to the~~ ~~[illegible] and the~~ ~~Constitution in its present form until it shall be altered or set aside by the people in the manner they have prescribed~~

The recent transactions in South Carolina in relation to a nullification of the laws of the U States, have shaken the faith of some in the permanency of our Union.

But may it not rather be adduced as a proof that the

Union is not to be ~~shaken~~ severed by the infatuation of a party
in a limitted section, when it is against the interest of
of a majority of the ~~people~~ States! The leaders of this wild
project probably supposed they should find aid in the
neighboring States; but in this they found themselves under a
mistake. Most of the States took decided grounds against them
which brought them back to their senses; and though
they continued to bluster for ~~some~~ a time, they found ~~that~~
a prudent retreat was most for ~~their~~ interest. Had Geor-
gia, North Carolina and Virginia joined S Carolina
in this insurrectionary ~~plan~~ measure, the Union might have
been ~~dissolved~~ severed; but their interests would soon have
taught them their ~~blind~~ egregious folly. And had these States
formed a new confederation, having for its basis the
nullification doctrine of S Carolina. what would have
been the strength of ~~that~~ the union? A mere straw! —
Men it is true ~~will~~ do not always foresee the consequences
of their projects, and
~~but if they become blind they may retain their feelings~~
they may become blind to their interest for a time;
but when they feel the ~~consequences~~ effects of their imprudence
they will, in most instances ~~at length~~, return to their senses, as is
evinced in the ~~late~~ S. Carolina mania — An instance in ~~[illegible]~~

public opinion; and in vain shall we look for unifor-
-ity of political sentiment.

But the great principle which we should ever keep in view is, that the minority shall submit to the majo as expressed in the Constitutions and the ballot boxes; an This must be held sacred as the ~~palladiums~~ basis of our libert

Those Many who witnessed the ~~unconnected~~ dislocated state of our Govern-ments, and the low estimation in which they were held b the nations of the old world, before we adopted the feder constitution, will duly estimate the value of that great comp To that compact the United States owe all that they m are. Take it away and ~~and~~ we have ~~are~~ nothing left but ana chy ~~and~~ confusion & misery. Notwithstanding we differ in our sentiments in relation to the administration of the gov-ernment, let us cling to the Constitution in its present for until it shall be altered, or set aside by the people & in the manner they have prescribed.

We have before us glorious prospects, – such perhaps as never before were presented to any ~~a~~ people on Earth; and b a wise exercise of the powers and faculties given us by Creator they may become ours. The choice is left unt us as free and intelligent agents, and if we fail of seiz the boon, the fault is our own, and is not to be charged to unkind Providence. If we will, we may be a great and happy people; but if we neglect the advantages now in our hands, we may plunge into ~~ruin~~ anarchy & even our government, instead of a blessing, become a curse, under which our children, & children's children may ~~mourn~~ lament their ~~irremediable~~ miserable fate to the latest generations!

28
2
56.

(29)

The subject I have selected for this evening will ~~may~~ not, I am aware, be exactly suited to the taste of those who have engaged in the somewhat intricate investigations ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~very~~ ~~[illegible]~~ to which your attention has been recently called by ~~several~~ gentlemen who have preceded me. But as an interlude may give time for deeper reflections, I will present you a plain subject unconnected with abstruse reasoning, somewhat trite it is true, yet perhaps not wholly destitute of interest to the inhabitants of our village, which has now attained to ~~[illegible]~~ the age of 170 years; during part of which period it was a scene ~~scene~~ of Indian warfare and occasion ~~[illegible]~~al suffering with which most of you have become acquainted from various ~~[illegible]~~ sources. My design ~~[illegible]~~, is to call your attention to the condition of the valley of Deerfield at the time it was first occupied by the English; to its ~~former~~ ~~and~~ ~~[illegible]~~ and present aspect, and

and to some of the employments of the early - -
settlers, with such incidental remarks as may
offer as I pass along; endeavouring in the mean
time to avoid trespassing upon your patience by
a protracted discourse. (Cl)

"Here a green field, in the bosom of hills wind
silent with its own blue stream! Here
midst the waving oaks, were the dwelling
of kings of old." — Ossian.

"Could we remove the veil which has cov
-ered the history of this Continent, ~~perhaps~~, tho
sands of years before it was known to Euro
peans, what scenes would be brought to ou
view! - If a people once inhabited it, supe
rior in knowledge to the present race of In
dians, as the mounds and other ancient wor
of art found in ~~the western~~ various parts of the U
States seem to indicate, then these scenes
might be interesting and worthy of the atten
tion of the civilized people of the present da
And who can say that the rise and fall o

~~(d)~~ (2)

By the valley of Deerfield I mean to include the ~~lower~~ whole bottom, or meadow, bounded on all sides by the first considerable rise, sometimes termed a terrace; and including ~~the~~ this old village, that at Cheapside, the nice-fruit nook, Mill-ville, ~~the~~ Bars and Wapping: the whole tract with alluvial soil, part of which is occasionally covered by floods.

Perhaps no tract of the same extent in New England, has been more celebrated for fertility than this little vale. Here

communities on this continent, might not furnish matter for extended volumes of history, not inferior or less important than those we possess of the ancient people of the old continent!

If it be true that the ~~ancient~~ earlier people of America, from a want of alphabetical writing kept no ~~clear~~ exact records, may they not, like the Mexicans, have possessed the means of transmitting their early history by pictorial paintings and other symbols ~~which~~ that have been lost?

Be this as it may, the probability is, that we shall not at this day, find any certain accounts concerning these people, other than what may ~~be~~ derived from their ancient works scattered ~~over~~ throughout the ~~western~~ country; and from these sources little can be expected beyond a faint knowledge of their arts at the time of the construction of their monuments, fortifications and other works.

The late discovery of ancient ~~works~~ ruins in in Guatimala, south of Mexico, with superb statues, containing symbols bearing some affinity to the hieroglyphics of Egypt, has excited the enquiries of antiquaries ~~in this country~~; and it is conjectured that there has been some connection between the ancient people of this country and those of Egypt; and had I not promised briefness in ~~my~~ this discourse, I should have called your attention to the ancient nations of Asia, bordering on the pacific and Indian oceans, extending from the north of China to Egypt and Nubia, in Africa, and ~~proving~~ endeavored to show, at least as probable, that these nations had a knowledge of western America, and frequently visited the coast for commercial purposes; and also that they possessed an extensive knowledge of astronomy, rules of navigation and were in the use of the magnetic needle.

These facts being established, all difficulties in relation to the first peopling of America and the islands of the pacific ocean, would be re-moved, and some light ~~be~~ thrown up on the long voyages performed in the reign of Solomon.

My opinions on this subject are not merely conjectural; ~~and~~ but I have collected some facts which I think, go far towards establishing the point ~~[illegible]~~ I have suggested. But I must now for bear and return to our valley.

The first authentic account we have of the interior of this quarter ~~of this quarter~~ of our continent is derived from the voyage of Cartier, a Frenchman, who ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal in 1535, and spent the succeeding winter at the Isle of Orleans near Quebec. But no permanent settlement was made in Canada, until about 1608, when Champlain founded Quebec under the auspices of the French Government.

Previous to Cartier's voyage fishing vessels had visited the coasts of New England & Newfoundland, but no settlements were made on the main ~~land~~ until 1604 when Port Royal, since called Annapolis on the bay of Fundey, was settled by the French.

The first notice I find of our valley is in 1637, though probably it had ~~previously~~ been visited by hunters at an earlier period. The towns on the lower Connecticut (Windsor, Hartford and Weathersfield) having suffered much from the Pequot war, ~~and~~ and been interrupted in their agricultural pursuits, finding themselves in want of subsistence, sent two agents up the river to Pocumtuc, the indian name of ~~th~~ our valley, to procure corn raised by the natives of the place. The agents were successful: the indians loaded fifty canoes with that article, and descended the Connecticut to the distressed towns; and by this timely supply, the people were enabled to subsist through the following winter.

From this circumstance I am induced to believe our meadows were then cleared of wood or partially so; and probably had been under cultivation for a long time, perhaps many centuries. The indications many where seen, that it was once the bed of a lake, or an expansion

These presents testify that Chauk alias Chaque the Sachem of Pacomtuck
for good and Valuable considerations him thereunto moveing hath
Given Granted Bargained and sold and by these presents doth for him
-self and his Brother Wapahoale, fully clearly and absolutely Give Grant
Bargaine & sell unto Captn John Pynchon of Springfield for the use and
behoof of Majr Eleazer Lusher and Ensigne Daniel Fisher and other
English of Dedham their Associates and successors and to them and their
heirs forever, certaine Parcels of Land at Pacomtuck on the further side
or upperside or North side of Pacomtuck river that is to say beginning
a little above where Pukcommegon river runs into Pacomtuck river and
so a little way up Pukcommeag River and then leaving Pukcommea
gon river, runs off to the Hill Sunsuck westward; All the land fr
Hill Sunsuck on the westward down the River Pacomtuck eastward below
Nayyocossick to Pochewee near the Mouth Pukcommeagon river wh
parcels of Land are called Nayyocossuck Tomholussick Massquomcossu
ustowwack Wussquavawway and so to Sunsuck hill, or by what ever Name
the sd Land is or may be called: All the aforesaid described Tract of
Land, being called by several names as aforesd Nayyocossuck Tomholussick
Massquomcossuck Ussowwack Wusquavawway and Sunsuck, or by what
ever other names it may be called, together with the trees Waters Meado
woods, Brooks uplands stones priviledges Commodities & advantages thereo
and thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. the aforesd Majr
Eleazer Lusher and Ensigne Daniel Fisher of Dedham their Associa
and Successors and their Heirs are to Have Hold and enjoy and the
forever, Only the said Chauk alias Chaque doth reserve Liberty of fishing
for the Indians in the Rivers or Water and free Liberty to hunt Deer or
other Wild creatures and to gather Walnuts, Chesnutts and other Nuts
and things on the Commons: And the said Chaque doth hereby coven
and promise to and with said Majr Eleazer Lusher & Daniel Fishe
that he will save the sd Majr Lusher & Daniel Fisher their Associates
Heirs and Assignes, Harmless of and from all manner of claims of any
person or persons Lawfully claiming any right title or Interest in any of
the Lands hereby Sold or in any part or parcel thereof, and will defend
the same from any molistation or Incumberance by Indians otherwi
than as before reserved. In witness whereof the sd Chaque hath hereu
Set his hand this 24th Feby 1665

The mark of Chaque

In presence of

John Pynchon Justice

Wequanock an Indian witness
his mark who helped
the Sachem in makeing the
Bargain

The day abovementioned Chaque
acknowledged this Instrument
to be his act and Deed befor
me

John Pynchon

Indian Deed
of the town of
(Deerfield
Copied from papers
in the Town Clerk's office
Dedham: Mass.
[illegible]

Includes only a part
of the town.

Note
Pochommegon, or
Pickomeag River
must be Green River

See page 14

1665
178 years ago.

of the ruins, are too strong to admit of a doubt, and therefore could not have been occupied as land by the indians before the water ~~was~~ had drained off.

The Report of the exploring committee of the Dedham proprietors in 1664, affords additional evidence that our meadow was destitute of woods at the time to which I have alluded. It says "we at length arrived at the place we soon after. We called it Petumtuck because there dwell the Petumtuck Indians. Having ascended a little hill, apparently surrounded by wide meadow land; from ~~which~~ = that spot we beheld broad meadows, extending from north, west and south of us. In these meadows we could trace the course of a fine river, which comes out from the mountains on the Northwest, and running northerly through many miles of meadow, seemed to us to run in among the hills again at the Northeast. The tall trees of button wood and elm exposed its course." Here the valley ~~[illegible]~~

8. covered with woods, the river could not have been traced by the "tall trees", nor seen at any considerable distance either up or down

Previous to their intercourse with the English the Indians must have been destitute of iron implements, and the cultivation of the valley, of course, very imperfect. With their stone hoes
+ other employment
+ an acre of arable land must have been a task for one person; and if they were like other indians, this task was committed to the females, while the males were ~~employed~~ engaged in hunting fishing & other employments. ~~sports~~. And here I cannot omit to remind the Ladies of my audience, of the amelioration of the condition of females from civilization, which has freed them from the drudgery imposed ~~upon them~~ by the males of rude nations, where the polite arts are unknown —

Whether our valley once was thickly covered with woods may be doubted. The frequent and violent floods of the river, often bringing down vast quantities of ice and, drift
woo

wood, must have sprung from the ground the young growth of trees and shrubbery; and if this drift wood was accumulated in large masses, it might easily be cleared off by fire.

The indigenous trees found in the valley since my recollection indicate the nature of the timber which originally prevailed. Among which were various kinds of oak, walnut, maple & elm; the buttonwood, poplar, ash, butternwood, bass, aspen, black cherry, and the wild plum a few chesnuts upon the highest grounds. Among the inferior kinds were alder, willow, saxifrage, sumach, wild cherry and elder. Some of the oaks & maples standing since my recollection, were of great size and probably very old. In what was called Dickinson's pasture, west of the present homelots, were three or four maples of a gigantic size, though much decayed in the interior, and probably of several centuries growth. On viewing these venerable monuments of nature, retrospection brought to mind the olden time when the red man reposed in the their cool shades after the toils of the chace; and the young ~~[illegible]~~ chiefs dallied, and enjoyed their sylvan sports, long before the white man, every trace of the primitive the Indian had so happily selected at Pocumtuck. And was this mode of life destitute of charms? Not so to the rude Indian

"whose soul proud science never taught to stray
"Far as the solar walk, or milky way.

His wants were few, and where game was plenty easily supplied, being were he was happy.

"To be, contents his natural desire,
"He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire;
"But thinks admitted to that equal sky,
"His faithful dog shall bear him company."

Such was the race who inhabited our valley before the white man learned its extraordinary fertility, "midst the waving oaks — the dwelling of kings of old".

Very few of the old indigenous trees are remaining in the valley; time and the axe have "prostrated" most of them; even the stumps

8 roots have decayed. One of these remarkable trees, an oak though of moderate size, is seen on the left of the road as we descend into the meadow from the south end of our street. When I was a boy it was called old, and its present aspect does not differ essentially from that which it exhibited on my first noticing it. A few others ~~of an equal age~~ are seen in the valley, whose moss covered shafts and decrepit limbs evince, that they have long sustained the ~~burning~~ summer's sun and furious blasts of winter, and are soon to disappear. Thus after a lapse of years, not only the firmest timber, as well as man and other animals, ~~after a lapse of years~~ vanish and are forgotten, while others take their places to undergo similar process under the never ceasing laws of nature; and thus

"Organic forms with chemic changes strive,
"Live but to die, and die but to revive."

For convenience it was common to leave standing some of the spreading trees in the vicinity of the meadow lots, under which the

the labourers occasionally took shelter from the scorching rays of the sun. In the shades of these trees often have I feasted on the wholsome and plain farmers dinner, and after the repast, reposed a short time on the shaded grass, by which the wearied limbs and muscles received new vigor for the afternoon's toil.

Told of these scenes, the fanciful Poet who seldom walks abroad under the burning rays of the summer's sun without his umbrella, ~~[illegible]~~ often sings of the ease ~~of the~~ and happiness of the labouring man. But he forgets to depict the ~~the~~ pains this laborer endures in the field while delving ~~thro~~ the lengthened row;— his parched ~~throat~~ and the eagerness with which he views the umbrageous tree in the distance, where he may quench his burning thirst, and brace up his trembling nerves. The Poet who thus sings in his closet, if he has fel the labour of the farmer but perhaps one hour under the elevating rays of ~~a summer's~~ the sun, will dearly appreciate ~~the~~ easy life of him who undergoes the toils and fatigues of living" by ~~the~~ sweat of the brow." If the labourer has less care ~~and~~ ~~less~~ ~~care~~ and less perplexity than some of the sedentary professions, his life is a scene of hardship which destroys the elasticity of the nerves, stiffens the joints, and brings on premature old age. If he is exempt from the gout and other diseases incident to a life of inactivity and extravagant indulgence at the table and the bottle, he can tell you of other diseases caused by heat, cold, rain, snow, and deleterious exhalations, to which he is necessarily exposed in the prosecution of his laborious profession. Nor does his life embrace all the charms the imagination of the ~~delicate fancy~~ closet Poet confers upon him.

Since the first occupation of man really be the

14. the English, great alterations have occurred in the course of the river. In some instances the bed has been entirely changed, and in all parts, the banks are more or less shifted, forming new patches of allu-vium; Ponds & marshes have been filled up with soil, or drained off, and little waste land is now seen.

In former times it is supposed ~~that~~ there ponds & marshes were numerous in the valley. My Gra-ther stated ~~to me~~ ~~that~~ his father ~~a young lad~~ often heard old Indians relate the manner of chasing the Beaver in ~~their~~ canoes, through ~~some~~ parts of the meadows, from pond to pond, a chain of which probably, extended from our old farm at Cheap-side, nearly the whole distance to wh is now called Boggy meadow; and one part of this route is called the Beaver-dam at this time. The names given to different parts of the mea-dow are generally, if not all, English. But in the copy of an old deed from the Indians to the Ded-ham proprietors, I find the Indian names of places situated on the river, probably, descriptive of the fruits ~~named~~ designated, ~~that~~ they might be interesting could we obtain their precise meaning.

The elevation named Pine-hill in the north meadow, being rather of a singular structure, ought not to be omitted in a survey of our valley. It approaches to the form of a parallelogram, of say ~~about~~ 30 or 40 acres, ~~more~~. After an abrupt rise on all sides the eastern part spreads into a plain of level land, west of which is a higher rise forming a kind of parapet facing the west; this with the plain east, resembles the rampart and parapet of a large fortification. On the northwest point of the hill, I have noticed excavations we call Indian cellars, and probably, this is the site of an ancient fort, overlooking the northern point of the meadows. On traversing the hill I have thought it might furnish beautiful situations for ~~a few~~ mansion houses; and I am gratified to find that a gentleman of our village, ~~who is alive to~~ ~~the beauties of nature~~, ~~has made~~ is making judicious efforts for the

16. the erection of ~~[illegible]~~ one upon the SW point of
the hill, whence a beautiful prospect of the
~~[illegible]~~ adjoining meadows ~~[illegible]~~ is ~~be~~ presented, highly pleasing to the man of refined taste & He has my be
wishes for the succ's of his laudable undertaking

The cultivation of our valley has of late been, in so
degree improved; ~~of late~~ but whether the best
modes have been adopted is a question which
deserves the attention of our farmers. To a
stranger passing through it in the summer season, it appears like a rich garden and h~~[illegible]~~ mu
naturally suppose that great profits are deriv
from its bountiful crops, which is not strictl
the case. The want of pasturage on the mountain lands for the raising of cattle, is a great
drawback to the meadow farmer. Relying on
the mountain farms for his stock for winter
feeding, he pays a heavy price, makes but
small profit from his crops, and labors
hence for the future he receives. The valley however, furnishes a pleasant and healthful residence; but not a profitable

I might here notice the plants, land animals, and fish found in the valley at the commencement of its settlement; but ~~here~~ I should be under the necessity of introducing Botanical and Zoological terms with which I am not sufficiently acquainted to afford useful instruction. I will however ~~merely~~ remark, that plants and land animals as well as fish were numerous: were I to relate what I have seen of flocks of black-ducks and other flocks of pigeons, I should probably be discredited, ~~if not~~ or suspected of gross exaggeration. But I may be permitted to say, that fish were found in our river, even since my recollection, in great quantities; among which were Shad, bass, salmon, besides a great variety of other common to fresh-water ~~[illegible]~~, streams. Deer, bears, wolves, foxes otters and other ~~game~~ animals were found in abundance; and furnished the old hunters full employment at all seasons. But if I have not already exceeded my promised limits, and trespassed upon your patience, I must now take a glance at ~~[illegible]~~ the masculine employments of those hardy and adventurous men.

When a lad I recollect we had among us, several of these old veterans, whose adventurous stories amused us in a high degree, and the hours spent in their relations seemed too short for full gratification. Hunting was the occasional diversion of many of our farmers; the game of the woods & water in their vicinity invited to the sport; and none wh had not in some measure participated in th were deemed, to use an Indian phrase, a brave.

Among the old professional hunters, many could count their hundreds of slaughtered deer and other animals, that had fallen by their hu Shots. Equipped with a powder horn, bullet-pouch, long knife, ~~and~~ light hatchet; the long, slim ~~brown~~ musket, with its silver bead, bright as evening phosphorus, and the well replenished knapsack, accompanied by his practised dog, he traversed the deep shaded ~~woods~~ forests, through vallies and over hi a brush hut hastily constructed, or in the open air;— feeding on the jerk of pork & bread from the pack, and slaking his thirst at the clear rill ~~brook~~ winding its way down ~~the~~ precipices and dark glens; and thus he spent several days with more or less success, as the game was plenty or scarce. Seldom however, did he return without a back-load, and often left several slaughtered deer hanging to trees in the woods, to be ~~taken~~ brought ~~[illegible]~~ home on horses, or the backs of men sent out for the purpose. Nor did the hunter enjoy less in his ~~in his~~ rambles, than at his fire side with his family. With a better supply of equipments and ammunition which might ~~be~~ easily be replenished, his enjoyments were superior to those of the Indian, whose wants could not be supplied, but when successful; nor was the hunter a whit less hardy than he.

The employment of the hunter tended to make him brave as well as hardy, and they were selected for soldiers when war was to be carried on in council councils, and especially against the wilderness of the woods, and here they were useful; but they were rather insubordinate and knew little of combined movements, or of the importance of acting in unison with others. nor would they submit to the restraints necessary in the ~~regular~~ trained soldier.

I might have dwelt upon the daring exploits of these hunters in their contests with wolves, bears, catamounts and other ferocious animals from their thrilling stories told in language peculiar to themselves, heightened by gesticulations suited to their *hairs breadth* escapes; but they might take up too much of your time, and, perhaps, tire of writing the interest I felt in their relation. I will however indulge myself in one or two.

A hunter being out with his team, came in sight of a huge moose; the impulse to follow and attack him, was irresistible, even without his musket. Taking a hamm from this time he mounted horse back and commenced a pursuit. The moose led him through woods and fields, and over ravines and streams until tired by flight, ~~when~~ he turned upon his pursuer, who dismounted his horse, and seizing a pine knot attacked and at length killed the ferocious animal on the spot. A feat of renown during those of some time; evincing of the valor and resolution of the hunter. The moose however, is not the most formidable animal, but when enraged by an attack from which he cannot escape, he becomes dangerous.

In hunting, besides slight accidents, and the attack of wounded animals, other dangers attend the hunter. The following thrilling disaster occurred in a neighboring town. Two hunters ~~men~~ a father and son, went out in pursuit of Bears in the woods in the eastern part of Montague. Arriving at a mountain where there

22. these animals often resorted, they separated, to pass round the mountain on opposite sides to raise and chase the game upon each other. Night was approaching and objects were indistinctly seen. The son at length observing a motion among the shrubbery and a glimpse of what he supposed ~~[illegible]~~ a bear, instantly levelled his musket and fired. Rushing forward with eager steps to the spot to seize his prize. What did he find? Not the Bear; but his Dear Father weltering in his blood, who told him his bullet had mortally wounded him. It had passed through his father's powder horn and entered the vital part of his body.

I will not attempt to depict the horror of the son. His father was dear to him, and the distance from home was too great to ~~carry~~ convey him there upon his back if the wound would permit it; he therefore concluded to remain with his father until morning, and sitting down supported him in his arms, and rendered ~~him~~ all the aid he could to his dying parent.

Probably little was said, for utterance was suppressed by wringing grief. Darkness came on, which to any but the brave would have been appalling; but this was nothing to him while his dear father lay groaning with the fearful wound. Time past slowly, and the son impatiently looked to the east for the dawn of morning, under the possible hope that the wound was not mortal, and ~~that~~ he might ~~then~~ obtain help and carry his wounded sire ~~father~~ home. But the twilight lingered, and no dawning ray penetrated the surrounding gloom. Sometime in the night the expiring moans became faint and the father ceased to breathe. He was dead!

The afflicted son then concluded to remain by the body until morning, and then return

24. to his distant mansion. To the scene which fo
lowed his arrival and relation of the dread-
ful disaster, I am unable to do justice. Help
was obtained, the dead body brought hom
and borne, sighs and mourning spread thro
the neighborhood. None, however, entertained a do
of the correctness of the son's account of the
accident; nor am I informed ~~that~~ a jury
was called to investigate the facts. The son
lived to advanced age; but, as we may na
turally suppose, a gloom sat on his counte-
nance, and the scene was seldom absen
from his mind: And when I have seen
the tall, straight, ~~and~~ aged form of *Ebenez*
Tuttle, the unfortunate hunter, the *heart th*
-ling accident always occurred to my mind
The subject demands the pen of the elegiac
poet, who can *express* what I can *but feel*.

Other instances have occurred in which
hunters have killed their comrades by mista
ing them for the game: but these disaste

were not frequent. In general, these hunters have enjoyed life with greater zest than most other men; and many have lived to advanced age, to relate their adventures to the young; and how much they have been entertained by the stories of the old hunter, most ~~of us~~ of my age can testify from experience.

In looking ~~over~~ back to the plain, simple and unostentatious times to which ~~I have alluded~~ my subject leads, I feel a sort of evanescent pleasure I cannot well describe. Even in my time, when traversing the new settlements in our hill country, we often saw the rude cottage with its curling volume of smoke, at the first opening of the wooded farm, & the kind dwellers at the door, ready to bestow ~~expensive~~ a portion of all they possessed; in the summer season ~~a fine~~ the sleek oxen and cows, grazing in the girdled pastures, or roaming at large in the adjacent woods, with tinkling bells strapped to their necks, to apprize the farmer of their range. Passing along the winding route, skirted by woods. now and then a Deer crossed the path and bounded off into the thicket; and then again another, followed by dogs and the wary, quick-sighted hunter in his close belted dress, adapted to his employment.

These hunting scenes were common, and now they cheer and animate him who recollects the "Olden time".

But the enterprising farmer possessed higher sources of enjoyment from his opening fields, his growing family, and increasing stock of domestic animals, the latter furnishing him with many of the necessaries of life, and promising him future independence. The nature, ~~and~~ habits and benefits of his domestic flock are most beautifully described by St. Pierre in his Studies of nature: I shall quote him verbatim.

among the shrubs of the rocks; the duck feeds on the water plants of the river; the hen, with attentive eye, picks up every grain that is scattered and lost in the field; the pigeon with rapid wing, collects a similar tribute from the refuse of the grove; and the frugal Bee turns to account even the small dust of the flower. There is no corner of the Earth where the whole vegetable crop may not be reaped. Those plants which are rejected by one are a delicacy to another, and even among the finny tribes contribute to their fatness. The hog devours the horse tail and hen bane; the Goat ~~the~~ the thistle and the hemlock. All return in the evening to the habitation of man with murmurs, with bleatings, with cries of joy, bringing back to him the delicious tribute of innumerable plants transformed, by a process the most inconceivable, into honey, milk, butter and cream."

How striking is this description to the man who has cleared, settled & stocked a new farm in the distant woods! The return of the cow

28. mals is inimitable, and the picture all to the life.

These scenes were familiar to the ~~town~~ first settlers of our valley, and then, as well as in later times, all was plain, simple, manly ~~[illegible]~~, and all were contented and happy without parade or show. What enviable times! They are gone. And with them, much that rendered man kind, amiable and good.

But it will be seen that great improvements have been made since their day. Of this I am aware. In mechanical philosophy the improvements are truly wonderful. With more perfect astronomical instruments we now reconnoitre the Heavens, — discover new ~~planets~~, comets, nebulae, and planets, with the peculiar phases of the latter, their perturbations, their exact revolutions on their axes, and come little short of seeing works of art upon their surfaces: all presenting incontestable evidence of the existence, wisdom and omnipotence of the great first cause, every where displaying his unbounded goodness to his creatures.

By the ingenious contrivances of man, we ~~[illegible]~~ now navigate our bays and rivers, cross the wide ocean, and speed along our rail roads with the rapidity of the weaver's shuttle, and all by the power of Steam, unknown to our fathers.

In the science of Government improvements have also been made. The rights of man are better understood, ~~and~~ justice more equally distributed, and progress is making towards a further amelioration of the condition of man. But alas! - one great object is neglected - the nations of the world have not yet learned to decide their disputes without an appeal to the cannon's mouth; and Europe, already paved with human bones, still seems to be doomed to further scenes of blood & carnage

30. nage: nor can we promise ourselves ex-
emption from similar destruction.

Did my limits permit I might notice the improvements made in Chemistry, Anatomy, Surgery, medicine and many other branches of the arts and science but I must forbear.

Admitting these improvements in mechanical philosophy to the full extent, still have we kept pace with them in Intellectual Philosophy; and has this been much advanced in late years? Since the peripatetic system by which the mind was long shackled, is suffered to rest in obscurity, and astrology sleeps in the same grave; though its ghost is now and then seen in the pages of our almanacks. Theological dogmas, once deemed sacred, are undergoing a critical analysis, & much of the dross is already separated from the pure metal; and the subtleties of (~~Thomas~~ Aquinas, the rubbish of Calvin, Hopkins and others, laid aside; yet much remains for the pruning knife.

But are we not running into occult schemes equally absurd? We hear of phrenology, animal magnetism, and

other

the recondite hypotheses, ~~[illegible]~~," (the fabrications ~~creations~~ of imaginary or unbalanced minds destined to run a short ~~race~~ course, and then, like the flash of a meteor, ~~to~~ die away, without ~~a~~ an luminary scintillation to enlighten mankind. While thus laboring ~~[illegible]~~ to establish these ~~[illegible]~~ utopian schemes ~~[illegible]~~, let us not reason away common sense.

Our forefathers puzzled not themselves with such intricacies; they pursued the plain path of duty, and whatever were their religious and political creeds, their practice evinced that moral principles were considered as essential ingredients:– In conclusion, permit me to inquire– ~~[illegible]~~: are we better fathers; better mothers; better sons; better daughters, & better members of society than ~~those~~ our ancestors?– If these questions cannot be answered in the affirmative, I think, we have but slight claims to real improvements–

(Finis)

Delivered to an audience at
our (~~Academy~~ Town House) in the evening
of Feby. 4. 1841.

Old Deed of land in Pocomtuck
or Deerfield page 4.